IRELAND UNDER THE LAND LEAGUE

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CLIFFORD LLOYD

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IRELAND
UNDER THE LAND LEAGUE

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A NARRATIVE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

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BY

CLIFFORD LLOYD

LATE SPECIAL RESIDENT MAGISTRATE

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INTRODUCTION.

CHARLES DALTON CLIFFORD LLOYD, the author of this brief record of personal experience, was born at Portsmouth on the 13th January 1844, of a well-known Irish family. His father was Colonel Robert Clifford LLoyd of the 68th Durham Light Infantry, and his grandfather was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, an office subsequently held also by his uncle, Humphrey LLoyd. His mother was a daughter of Captain George Savage of the 13th Light Dragoons, of Ballylowan, Co. Down.

Educated at Sandhurst, he was originally destined for the army, but accepted the offer of an appointment in the Burma Police, his

father's regiment being then quartered at Rangoon. Transferred from the Police to the Civil Department, he rose rapidly in the Burmese Commission to the rank of Deputy Commissioner. Returning to England on furlough, he spent his time in a diligent study of Law, was called to the English Bar, and shortly afterwards received the offer of an appointment as Resident Magistrate in Ireland. Here his energetic character soon brought him to the front, and led to his selection for the duty of restoring order in a succession of disturbed localities—a task which he accomplished with so much success that he was one of the first officers chosen for the responsible office of Special Resident Magistrate, then created in view of the unsettled state of the country. With what determination, fearlessness, and ability his duties in this capacity were discharged, is well known to all students of Irish history; but a new and clear light is thrown on the story of the dark and anxious days when the Land League was paramount in

Ireland by the plain and simple narrative of events recorded in these pages.

On the completion of his work in Ireland, Clifford LLoyd was selected for special service in Egypt, where, as Minister of the Interior, his administrative capacity was displayed in the initiation of various important reforms.

His next appointment was that of Colonial Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor of Mauritius, accepted under the impression that the then Governor (a fellow-countryman conspicuously identified with Irish political life and with the policy of Separation) was about to take leave. The position soon became untenable, and he retired temporarily from public life, until the offer of the Consulate at Erzeroum, a post of great importance in the critical condition of the Russian frontier, led him to resume active service.

During the year of his employment in Armenia he effectually championed the cause of the suffering Armenians, and did much to ameliorate their condition, his services

being warmly acknowledged by Sir W. White, Ambassador at Constantinople. Unfortunately the rigours of the climate, and hardships inseparable from Armenian travel, brought too great a strain to bear on a constitution never robust, and already tried by a life of exceptional anxiety and activity. Summoned to Constantinople in mid-winter, he fell a victim, on the return journey, to an attack of acute pneumonia, and died at Erzeroum on the 7th January 1891, at the early age of forty-seven.

Few public men have been better abused than Clifford LLoyd by political opponents; and, keenly as he felt the sting of unjust reproach, assuredly no man ever more calmly and courageously pursued the path of active duty, unmoved by the voice of calumny. But if he had many political enemies, he had no lack of devoted personal friends, and among his greatest treasures were the handsome testimonials and cordial addresses presented to him by colleagues and subordinates on the

termination of his work both in Ireland and in Egypt. The type of a loyal Irishman, Clifford LLoyd was essentially a self-made man. Without any great educational advantages, he rose to eminence simply by the force of his own energy and abilities, which were such as, had his life not been prematurely cut short, might have carried him to the highest grades of the public service.

The present record was compiled while its author was temporarily unemployed, and was reserved by him for future publication. It is now given to the public, in fulfilment of his intention, and in the belief that it may not be without salutary lessons at the present time for all who are interested in the affairs of Ireland.

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IRELAND
UNDER THE LAND LEAGUE.

CHAPTER I.

SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1880—MEETINGS OF LAND LEAGUE AND THEIR EFFECTS—MISTAKEN POLICY OF GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THEM—LAND LEAGUE MEETING AT SAINTFIELD, CO. DOWN—DEPUTED TO PROTECT THE MEETING—SPEECHES OF MESSRS DAVITT, DILLON, AND BIGGAR—COUNTER-DEMONSTRATION OF LOYALISTS—OPEN PREACHING OF TREASON AND INCITEMENT TO MURDER BY THE LAND LEAGUE—EXAMPLE, THE SPEECH OF A PRIEST—LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS AT DUNDALK AND DROGHEDA—THE LATTER PROHIBITED BY GOVERNMENT, AND ADDRESSED BY MESSRS DAVITT AND HEALY—RIOT ACT READ AND MEETING DISPERSED.

DURING the summer and autumn of 1880, the teachings of the Land League were being spread rapidly throughout Ireland. Meeting after meeting was being held, at which lan-

guage was addressed to the peasantry of a nature sufficient to drive a nation of saints to revolution. Murder, "moonlighting," and general anarchy followed these meetings, with a certainty never questioned, except by those who found it to their pecuniary advantage to advocate a cause, the advance of which, from part to part of Ireland, can be traced in the blood of innocent men and women. Some of these intended meetings were prohibited by the Government, while others were permitted to take place. There were, no doubt, principles guiding the decision of the Irish Government in dealing with the important question of the prohibition of public meetings at this time; but an opinion was generally held that the distinctions drawn rested theoretically upon a very shadowy foundation, while, in practice, the terrible result they produced is to be found recorded in the criminal annals and the revolutionary history of subsequent years.

In the beginning, the Government had

ample justification for prohibiting all meetings held under the auspices of the Land League. The Court of Queen's Bench, in language not to be mistaken, had declared it to be an illegal society, and every meeting held in its name or under its auspices to be also unlawful. In the second place, the introduction of the Land League into a locality was well known to be immediately followed by violent crime and continued disorder. Had the magistrates been instructed to take legal steps for the preservation of the peace in their respective jurisdictions, the movement would have collapsed. This would have been a strictly constitutional course to have adopted. Magistrates are answerable to the law of the land for acts they commit in its name. Persons who might have considered that their rights had been infringed or their liberties improperly curtailed, would have had their remedy in a court of law. The first duty of a magistrate is to preserve the peace, and to place legal restrictions upon those who disturb it,

or who adopt a course of conduct such as members of the Land League have pursued from the creation of that organisation up to date.

If, under then existing circumstances, the Government distrusted the discretion of its subordinate executive officers in such matters, it could have prohibited such meetings on its own authority. The magistrates were directed, however, not to take such action themselves, and the Government in Ireland, true to its centralised system, decided to consider, as occasion arose, each proposition to hold a Land League meeting, and to decide with reference to it as might seem at the time expedient. Some meetings were permitted and others prohibited, for reasons, the adequacy of which has never been appreciated or understood.

No doubt the Irish Government had a very difficult task to perform. The right of public meeting is dear to Englishmen, and it was not to be expected that the Liberal party then in

power, influenced as it was of necessity by the opinions of its members most advanced in political thought, would lightly have consented to any curtailment of this popular privilege. Most Englishmen know little about Ireland or the character of its people, and still less of the manner in which the Irish should be ruled. The leaders of the people have never failed to take advantage of this ignorance. The most vehement protestations were made as to the strictly "constitutional" nature of the movement, the legality of its means, and the righteousness of its ends. It took a year and a half to convince the Liberal party that it was being befooled in the House of Commons by a set of impostors, and laughed at in Ireland by a combination of rebels. By this time, however, the leaders of the Land League had so consolidated the movement and so extended its organisation, that they cared little for the opinions of the Liberal party, or for any action the Government was likely to take.

The Land League was indeed getting bold.

In October 1880 it was proposed to hold a meeting under its auspices in the county of Down, known in Ireland as "the loyal county of Down." People rubbed their eyes, and wondered whether the report was true, and, if so, whether the Government would permit the meeting to be held. It had been customary to occasionally celebrate St Patrick's Day in the southern part of the county towards the Mourne Mountains, where the Roman Catholic population sought refuge from their persecutors in days happily gone by, and where their descendants are now alone to be found in this county in any numbers. No one dreamed of a serious proposition to hold a Land League meeting in the county for the dissemination of treason, plunder, and crime. All doubt, however, was soon set at rest by the appearance of large green placards posted about the county, proclaiming that the Land League would hold a meeting at Saintfield on the 23d October 1880. Mr Dillon, M.P., Mr Biggar, M.P., Mr Davitt, and others were

announced as speakers. It thus appeared that not only had the Land League determined on holding its meeting, but had decided to do so in the very heart of the county.

I was at this time resident magistrate of the town of Belfast. A few days before the date on which the meeting was to be held, I received instructions from the Lord Lieutenant to "assist in preserving the peace" upon the occasion. I arranged for 600 men of the Royal Irish Constabulary to be on the ground, for there were rumours of a determined attack being made upon the meeting by a well-organised gathering of Orangemen. Going to Saintfield early on the morning of the 23d, I had an interview with the local leaders of the loyalists, and informed them that as my duty was to protect the Land League meeting, it would naturally be impossible to allow a counter-demonstration in its immediate vicinity, and that, above all things, I trusted the necessity would not arise, in performing this

duty, for the use of any force against loyal men. The public-houses were ordered to be closed, and general arrangements made for any contingency that might arise—the loyal population being extremely exasperated. Shortly after the Land League meeting opened (it was held in a field outside the town), it was reported to me that a special train, conveying several hundreds of Orangemen, as well as large contingents from the neighbourhood, had arrived, and that many of the loyalists were armed with revolvers. In a few moments another messenger arrived saying that the Orangemen, headed by different gentlemen of the county, were marching up through the town in large numbers to attack the Land League meeting. Detaching 300 men from the main body of constabulary protecting the League meeting, we drew six double ranks across the road, each twenty yards apart, in order to stay the progress of the assailants. The formation was hardly completed when the Orange party was seen approaching us;

completely filling the street. It was headed by brass bands and a couple of standard-bearers carrying union-jacks. On the left front was Mr John Rea, a celebrated Belfast solicitor, and one of the most extraordinary of men. On the right was Mr Finigan, the secretary of the Constitutional Society; and in the centre was Colonel Waring, D.L., who was a justice of the peace for the county. On they all marched until they reached to within a yard of the foremost rank of the constabulary, when of necessity a halt was made. I got to the front, and, on asking, was informed that Colonel Waring was "in command." It was explained to him that no further advance could be allowed, and being a justice of the peace himself, I invited him to assist me in preserving order upon the occasion. Colonel Waring, no doubt somewhat taken aback, behaved as every loyal gentleman would have been expected to act on the occasion. He turned round and addressed the Orangemen, telling them that it

was their first duty to obey those in authority. He said, "We have entered our protest against this treasonable meeting being here held, and it now only remains for us to retire, as directed, and hold our own meeting elsewhere." The mass of loyalists then sang "God save the Queen," and turning round, proceeded to the neighbouring demesne of a gentleman, and there held a demonstration and made speeches on their own account. I returned to the Land League meeting, which could not have consisted of more than a hundred people, and listened to the addresses of the various orators. Mr Davitt struck me as being a very effective speaker, and to a sentimental nature I should imagine he was especially convincing. He has but one arm, and I could not help feeling a certain amount of sympathy for him personally. When his speech closed, I thought to myself that if he really believed all he said, it was difficult to see how he could be ought else but an ardent and uncompromising rebel. Mr

Dillon's pale thoughtful face and earnest voice assisted much the effect of his very impressive manner. As to Mr Biggar, perhaps the less said the better.

I was presently informed that the Orangemen, having concluded their own indignation meeting, had taken to the fields with further designs upon the Land Leaguers. There was no reason, however, for indulging in any misgivings as to our power of preserving the peace, so we awaited the development of any movement taking place. In a short time, the high land adjacent was occupied by the Orangemen in some force. They advanced down the hillsides towards the meeting, flourishing sticks and making a noise, and it became necessary to cause a charge to be executed by a small party of police. Thirty or forty loyalists succeeded in getting through the lines of armed men into the ground reserved for the meeting, but the main body was kept back at a safe distance. A few prisoners were taken, and retained as hostages

until the day's proceedings were over. Had there been any temporising on our part, it would have been difficult, without resorting to extreme measures, to have prevented the Land Leaguers being swept away by the large number of their opponents present, who were only anxious to get the opportunity of putting an end to Messrs Biggar & Co.'s powers of further treasonable agitation. At the close, the leading Land Leaguers were protected to the hotel, where Mr Biggar was not too proud to send his compliments to me, asking that he might be protected out of the town. I sent my compliments in return to Mr Biggar, informing him that every subject of the Queen was entitled to protection, and that he would of course get it. He left the town in a closed conveyance, surrounded by policemen with "fixed" swords, amidst the jeers of the people.

The Orangemen were highly displeased with my conduct on the occasion. Probably they forgot that I was bound to do my duty

and carry out the instructions I had received to protect the Land League meeting. They loudly hooted me that night at the theatre, a proceeding which no doubt afforded them some amusement, while waiting for the curtain to rise.

Truly we live in a peculiar country. It often struck me that in the United Kingdom alone could anything so extraordinary be seen, as the armed forces of the Crown standing round and protecting a gathering of rebels preaching treason. Not only was treason openly preached; but on such occasions language was addressed to the people distinctly inciting to murder, and, considering the crime taking place at the time, I must add that the language seemed to be deliberately used with this object. Let me record, for instance, the words I heard a reverend Roman Catholic gentleman use at a Land League meeting in the county of Down, shortly after the one I have just described. After abusing landlords unreservedly, and accusing

them of all descriptions of oppression and tyranny, he went on to detail what in his imagination constituted the breakfast, lunch, and dinner of a gentleman. "Beef-steaks, mutton-chops, rashers of bacon, hams, and jams of sorts" were provided *ad lib.* "The tenant, what did he eat? Meal in the morning made into stirabout, a potato for his dinner, and meal again for his supper. Worse feeding than the landlord gave his pigs. Do you know what I would give the landlords? I would take a buckshot-cartridge, tear the top of it off" (the reverend Christian here went through the various motions of loading a gun), "pour it into a wine-glass" (here he inverted the imaginary cartridge as if emptying its contents into the muzzle of a gun), "and I'd mix that up and give it to the landlord to drink for his supper." The reverend gentleman evidently misunderstood the brave and manly farmers of the north, whom he was addressing. Their feelings were outraged by such diabolical suggestions. Yet I was stand-

ing by, with several hundreds of men, to protect the speaker and his confederates from the natural consequence of such language, addressed to loyal law-abiding men as if they were so many assassins. It cannot be said that the Government did not know such language would be used, for at every meeting held by the Land League, treason, sedition, and outrage were preached. A leader here or there telling the people not to commit crime, deceived no one conversant with the depth of criminality into which the Land League had plunged. The leaders knew well in these days that the League would not have existed for a month without the despotism it exercised by murder and other crime.

I was sent on this kind of duty upon several occasions during the last three months of 1880; but it will suffice to give the reader a general idea on the subject, if a single other instance is selected for record. It was announced that on Saturday the 1st January 1881 a monster

meeting of the Land League was to be held at Dundalk, for the purpose of inaugurating the organisation in the county of Louth. On the following day a second meeting was to be held at Drogheda for the same purpose. A very strong sworn information was drawn up by the police authorities, to the effect that bloodshed and crime would result therefrom, and this was submitted by the magistrates to the Government, accompanied by a vigorous representation on their own behalf against permitting the meeting to be held. The other resident magistrate at Dundalk agreed with me in urging the same view. The Government, however, issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting at Drogheda; but it was notified that the one at Dundalk was not to be interfered with. The troops at Dundalk were confined to barracks, and large numbers of the constabulary were drafted into the town for duty. The local leaders of the Land League at Drogheda having given an assurance to the resident magistrate there that no attempt

would be made to evade the proclamation, the town was denuded of police for employment at Dundalk.

At about 1 P.M., as the contingents were coming in from the country, intelligence reached us at Dundalk by telegram that Drogheda was the scene of much excitement, as large green placards had suddenly appeared upon the walls of the town and throughout the adjoining country, calling the prohibited meeting for that very day at 2 P.M. It had been arranged that we should proceed the following day to Drogheda, and see that the meeting was not held in violation of the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation; but in consultation with my colleague, it was now decided to regard the present action of the Land League as simply an attempt to evade and stultify the authority of the executive. There was no time to refer to Dublin, so, taking a special train, which was fortunately secured, with the county inspector and a hundred men of the constabulary, I

started for Drogheda at 2 P.M., and arrived there at 2.30 P.M. While crossing the railway bridge over the Boyne, we could see the meeting actually being held in a square on the banks of the river. It seemed from a distance to be of very large proportions. We marched rapidly down towards the square, in a street off which the county inspector of constabulary, Mr Stevens, drew up his men. The ground seemed densely packed with people, who were being addressed by one of the many occupants of a large brake. Amongst the number were Mr Davitt, whom I knew by appearance, and Mr Healy, M.P., whom I had not previously had the honour of meeting. The latter individual was speaking at the time of our arrival. Mr Stevens, a gentleman of large stature, made a way for me through the mass of people up to the brake. On reaching it, I asked who was chairman of the meeting, and was referred to a priest standing beside Mr Healy. I informed him that the meeting was being held in violation of the Lord Lieuten-

ant's proclamation, and that it could not be continued. My authority was demanded, the only answer to which was, of course, a reference to the proclamation posted on every wall. It was no time or place, however, to enter into a discussion; the people were getting excited, and ominous sounds were coming from behind me. I therefore again intimated that the meeting must at once disperse, and I appealed to the priest to use his influence on the side of order. He asked me if Mr Healy might tell the people to disperse, a request of course acceded to on condition that no further remarks were to be made. Mr Stevens and I had then to work our way out of the excited throng, and while doing so, I heard Mr Healy in a loud voice telling the people that "the cursed Government had sent their men with bayonets and buckshot" to mow them down. Some one from the brake, calling out, "We have held our meeting in defiance of the Government," told the people to disperse. A scene of wild confusion and uproar followed.

I deemed it prudent to move the men into the square, with their backs to the court-house, thus putting the mob between us and the river. Loud curses were raised for the Queen, sticks flourished in the air, and the people, some thousands in number, pressed on the police, bringing, in some instances, their pikes even up to the men's breasts. The county inspector ordered swords to be "fixed," and matters were looking so serious, that I stood out in front, and taking off my hat, read the Riot Act in a loud voice. Mr Healy, M.P., Mr Davitt, several priests, and press reporters then passed away in the brake. Turning to Mr Healy, I said that if I found him addressing another meeting that day in Drogheda, I would have him arrested. Mr Healy subsequently attacked me in the House of Commons, insisting that I had threatened to shoot him if I met him again. I really believe he thought the latter expression was used, for he made direct for the railway station, I was informed, and left the town.

The mob, with bands and banners, attempted to parade the streets; but as it was getting dark, and there was every indication of a very lawless spirit being in the ascendant, we succeeded in dividing the Land Leaguers in half, made them furl their flags, and disperse to their homes. The public-houses were closed, and by patient exertion on the part of the police the town soon resumed its ordinary appearance. That night I remained at the hotel where the Land League committee dined in honour of its defeat. I received a letter from the secretary, asking me to join them at dinner, to meet Mr Davitt, an invitation I was unable to accept.

In effectually protecting a Land League meeting at Saintfield and in dispersing one at Drogheda, in accordance with the instructions of the Government, it cannot be said at least that in the performance of two unpleasant duties there was any display of partiality on my part. The Irish Government highly commended the course pursued at both. The

approval of the Land League was only extended to that adopted at Saintfield, for my action at which the Orangemen hooted me, though they warmly applauded my proceedings at Drogheda.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSFERRED FROM BELFAST TO CO. LONGFORD—DESCRIPTION OF LONGFORD—DRUMLISH AND LORD GRANARD'S TENANTS—PROCESS-SERVERS AND POLICE DEFEATED BY THE MOB—FIRMNESS ESSENTIAL IN DEALING WITH THE IRISH—ORDINARY LAW SHOULD BE ENFORCED—ARREST AND TRIAL OF RIOTERS AT DRUMLISH—DEFENCE OF PRISONERS BY PARISH PRIEST—DISCHARGE OF PRISONERS—RINGLEADERS COMMITTED FOR TRIAL—DIFFICULTY OF BAILSMEN—A GENTLEMAN FROM DUBLIN—CORRUPTION AND INTIMIDATION OF JURIES—ORDER RESTORED IN LONGFORD—GREAT ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY BISHOP AND PRIESTS OF CO. LONGFORD.

At the end of January 1881 I received instructions from the Government to proceed to and assume charge of the county of Longford. The Land League had there been established for some little time, the consequence being that a portion of the county was in a state little short of open revolt, while generally the law was trampled under foot. The town of Longford, in which I took up my temporary

residence, is one of the common type of dismal, dirty, Irish county towns; and had it not been for the kindness shown me by the owners of Castle Forbes, in the immediate vicinity, and by the officers of the 1st Royal Dragoons quartered in the town, the four months I spent there would have indeed been very dreary ones. It appeared that Lord Granard owned considerable property in an adjacent part of the county, known by the name of Drumlish. He was a resident landlord, of the same religion as the people, by whom he was much and deservedly respected. The inhabitants of Drumlish, however, were unquestionably poor, the land upon which they lived being somewhat unproductive. Lord Granard, by mistaken kindness, had allowed the Drumlish tenants to get many years in arrears. A tenant in Ireland should not be asked to pay as rent what is more than reasonable and just; but once the sum is agreed upon, it should be paid upon the day it becomes due, otherwise, with each day's delay

in enforcing payment, the tenant's objection "to part" becomes more marked, while the chances of the landlord ever seeing his money at all become less and less.

When the Land League appeared upon the scene, these tenants listened to its doctrines and were well pleased. The rents having been demanded, or a part even of what was due, payment was consequently refused. An attempt was then made to serve processes; but the people "assembled in their thousands," armed with pitchforks and staves, and disputed the advance of the process-servers, though they were protected by large bodies of police and the Royal Dragoons, with a resident magistrate. The whole population seemed to have risen, and the campaign lasted three days, her Majesty's forces in the end being obliged to retire, owing, it must be stated, to the want of determination on the part of those locally representing the civil power. Of all the conceivable errors capable of being committed in reference to such

matters, that of retiring before an Irish mob is one of the most serious. There is, however, one greater, which is permitting a mob to collect for hostile purposes. Once collected, it must be dispersed, or the representatives of the law must retreat. The alternatives should be avoided. What I urge, as regards disturbers of the peace in Ireland, is that the common law of the land should be enforced. It is unlawful that a mob should assemble for the purpose of obstructing the execution of the law in any of its branches. Such being the case, a mob should not be permitted to assemble for such a purpose. Twenty peasants will disperse on receiving an order to do so, if they feel confident that the order is meant to be carried out; but half an hour afterwards one hundred armed men may not suffice to disperse a hostile gathering, augmented by thousands. Bloodshed, whether by the use of batons on one side or stones on the other, should be avoided, and, above all, the law should be executed with decorum, and

not amidst scenes of riot and tumult. When, however, the law has been broken and defied, it only remains to assert its authority with the least possible delay; for in Ireland, if the law does not show itself to be the master of the people, the people will quickly show themselves to be the masters of it. When acting as a magistrate in Ireland, I seldom if ever punished the misguided people; but I insisted upon the law being obeyed and order preserved. I was not in consequence a *persona grata* to the leaders of the Land League, whose object it was to create disorder and to trample the law under foot.

As the judge of assize subsequently remarked, the acts committed at Drumlish were little short of rebellion. So my first duty on arrival was to bring the offenders to justice. Warrants were issued for the ringleaders, the rank and file being summoned to appear on an early date. I was advised to hold the court at Longford; but it appeared to me that the effect would be much more salutary if held at the

village of Drumlish itself, on the very battle-ground of a few weeks past. This was accordingly done. Precautions had, of course, to be taken against further riot and scenes of disorder, so I applied to the Government for the services of three resident magistrates, with an extra force of infantry and police. Writing from memory, I may say there were about a hundred prisoners, and the court-house being very small, it was necessary to try them in batches of twenty. I need not say that the local officials of the Land League were among the number. During the proceedings, which lasted a couple of weeks, the adjoining country was held by strong parties of cavalry, infantry, and police. Each morning the prisoners were driven out on cars to Drumlish from Longford jail, whither they returned in the evening. Had they been allowed to go at large during the trial, no effect would have been produced, and in the end leniency would have been impossible. As it was, the long cavalcade morning and evening, under strong cavalry

escort, made a marvellous impression, which considerably helped in the pacification of the county.

When the evidence had been heard on one side and the other, the reverend parish priest stood up in court, and on behalf of the people made a short statement, as touching as it was sincere. He urged that the power of the law had been enforced, and he pleaded that leniency might now be extended to the misguided people, who, he said, regretted what had happened, and who, he passed his word, would not so commit themselves again. I did not fail, on this and other similar occasions, to point out to the prisoners how the leaders of the Land League had goaded them on into acting as they had done; but that in the hour of personal danger, and subsequently when the people were in their scores standing face to face with the law, they absented themselves. The champions of disorder never appreciated such remarks being addressed to their dupes. In the end I discharged all the prisoners, to

their great surprise and delight, merely binding each with two sureties in small sums "to be of good behaviour." The ringleaders were committed for trial, but later on were also discharged at my request by the Government. When the recognisances were being entered into, the farmers offering themselves as bail found themselves in a position of some difficulty. All had—some *nolens*, others *volens*—joined the Land League, and few, if any, had paid their rents. Having been sworn, and asked in turn if their rent was paid, the answer almost invariably was, "No, sir." But when some were questioned as to the reason for its not having been paid, all were cunning enough to see the difficulty of giving a satisfactory answer. If the rent was due owing to inability to pay, they could not be looked upon as solvent bailsmen; and if, on the other hand, they admitted that they had the money but would not pay, they naturally feared being at once compelled to do so by those to whom it was due, as well as thereby proclaiming to

the world the imposition they were seeking to practise. However, as it was my duty to keep order and not to collect rents, all were admitted to bail. One of the highest office-bearers of the local Land League came to my house the same evening, and thanked me with sincerity for "having let them off so light," adding that he had now done with the whole business.

During the hearing of this case I publicly gave notice that the law would be at once put in force against any person of high or low degree, who, on the part of the Land League, attempted to create disorder by disseminating its doctrine within my jurisdiction. A few mornings afterwards the police officer in court drew my attention to the fact that a Mr Cox, "a gentleman from Dublin," had met the people coming out of chapel the day before, and urged upon them in violent language not to draw back in the course upon which they had entered. Mr Cox was in court at the time, and as he had no satisfactory explanation of his conduct to give, I informed him

that, unless he left the county within twenty-four hours, the law would be put in force against him. He left accordingly; and during the whole of the subsequent two years no "gentleman from Dublin" ever ventured openly to visit or to make a speech within the extended and troubled jurisdiction afterwards given into my charge.

There was much executive duty to be performed in the county, in order to stamp out the lawless spirit showing itself among the people. The assizes were held in March (I write from memory), and the result did not much assist me in the work I had in hand. Several prisoners were brought to trial; but the juries, as elsewhere in Ireland at the time, showed a marked determination to acquit. Two jurymen at Longford told me that they had been visited at night by a member of the local Land League committee, and warned of the peril they would incur if in the jury-box they proved true to their oaths, but "faithless to the cause." They exacted a

promise from me to take no notice of the information which they gave, in order that I might realise the difficulty of the position in which jurymen during such times found themselves placed. One of them added, that the anxiety of jurymen seemed to be, on retiring to their room to deliberate, as to which should be the first to say "Not guilty."

The strength of the ordinary law in Ireland is never likely to be found in its administration by county juries, selected under the provisions of existing Acts of Parliament. A Committee of the House of Lords, composed of eminent men, held a most exhaustive inquiry in 1881 into the whole subject of the Jury Laws in Ireland; but, if I mistake not, the laws are as glaringly defective to-day as they were then.

By the end of April I was able to report to Lord Cowper that order had been completely restored in the county of Longford, and in May I left on a month's leave to take the baths at Droitwich, as I was feeling ill, and was suffering much bodily pain. The Irish

Government was pleased to acknowledge the work done, and the result attained. I also remember with gratification the remark addressed to me on leaving by the Catholic bishop of the diocese, who, when bidding me good-bye, thanked me for "the mercy as well as firmness" displayed in dealing with his people. My work was made light by the Christian and law-abiding spirit shown by the bishop and priests in the county of Longford; for without the assistance they on all occasions were ready to give me, without the example of moderation they displayed, and the good influence they exerted among the people, Longford might have rapidly become a second Kilmallock or Loughrea.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTION OF ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SELECTION OF OFFICERS—NEED OF REORGANISATION—ABSENCE OF ORGANISED DETECTIVE SERVICE—MEANS OF MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE COUNTRY—THE LAND LEAGUE'S REIGN OF TERROR—SUPPORTED BY MONEY FROM AMERICA AND MERCILESS PUNISHMENT OF OFFENDERS—WEAKNESS OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT—SKETCH OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF IRISH ADMINISTRATION—THE RESIDENT MAGISTRACY—COUNTY JUSTICES—SYSTEM OF APPOINTMENT, PAY, AND PROMOTION OF RESIDENT MAGISTRATES—DUTIES OF RESIDENT MAGISTRATE—MAINTENANCE OF ORDER RESTS EXCLUSIVELY WITH DUBLIN CASTLE—DUTIES OF CONSTABULARY—ORGANISATION OF THE FORCE—ADMIRABLE CHARACTER OF THE FORCE—PROVISION OF EXTRA ESTABLISHMENT FOR DISTURBED DISTRICTS—CENTRALISATION OF AUTHORITY IN DUBLIN.

THE men of the constabulary were drawn mainly from the agricultural class, and were enlisted without regard to creed, provided they fulfilled the educational and physical tests applicable, and bore good characters. The officers, with few exceptions, Irishmen, were educated in Ireland; but during the

last few years many young English gentlemen from the universities and English public schools have joined this noble force. Officers entered the service by nomination, and after passing an examination of a nature to prove that they had received a fair general education, free from "cramming," served as cadets and then as officers for a certain period at the depot in Dublin, whence they were drafted to the provinces, and moved from station to station, as the requirements of the service demanded or their own merits suggested. Most attention being given to discipline, which was very strict, and promotion being extremely slow, it can be supposed that in many cases, by the time an officer reached the rank of county inspector, much individuality had been knocked out of him. He was frequently past his work, and still more often quite unsuited to it from a police point of view. Indeed, once having reached this rank, his whole time was taken up at his office with matters of interior economy and discipline,

with periodical inspections of the force under his command. The young officer just posted to a district from Dublin was very much left to his own resources as to his education as a policeman. His first duty was to learn his "code"; for wrongly heading an official report, giving a margin of foolscap unauthorised by regulation, or other breach of its contents, would give rise to much more correspondence and to greater reproof than any shortcoming in his efforts to unravel the threads of some criminal mystery. There were, however, in the force, both among officers and men, the makings of some excellent and most successful police officers, as events proved; but until we removed the weight of the disabilities under which they suffered, by introducing a system more practical, and giving more scope to their undoubted intelligence, they were unable to grapple with the most important portion of their duties. The prevailing characteristic of the Royal Irish Constabulary was the high sense of duty animating all its ranks; and

with such a foundation to work upon, it is not surprising that when a suitable scheme of police organisation was presented to it, the best results were achieved.

At the time of which I am writing (the early part of 1881), it may be said that there was no properly organised detective service in Ireland. I am alluding to the provinces, and not to Dublin. No doubt there was a detective force in Dublin, under that most able officer, Mr Mallon, which formed part of the Dublin Metropolitan Police; but there was no detective department worthy of the name in connection with the constabulary, with its branches and agents throughout the country, and in other localities where they would have proved most useful. Notwithstanding the distinct unwillingness of the people to come forward and give evidence in criminal cases—more from terror, as a rule, than from sympathy with crime—yet the relative position of the police to the people, and the intimate connection with America, marked it out as

a force peculiarly adapted to the prevention and detection of crime committed in Ireland, but often inspired from America.

In considering the means at the disposal of the Government for withstanding the elements of revolution, which were under its eyes being created and organised, I have shown that the local justices were not to be relied upon, that the resident magistrates were not representatives of the Government in their respective jurisdictions, or responsible for the preservation of order in their districts, as are magistrates of districts in India; and that therefore the Government was only able to directly rely upon the constabulary for the maintenance of its authority in the country, as well as for information and advice. To define with accuracy, it may be said that in a sub-inspector's district — a county comprising perhaps from five to twenty such districts—the only representative of the executive Government of whom the people were cognisant was a young officer of constabulary; whereas, if the peace of the

country was to be maintained, the most able administrators were necessary at the time throughout the south and west.

On the other hand, the Land League, the majority of its leading members being Fenians or other rebels, having thoroughly established itself in the south and west, was spreading its organisation throughout the other portions of Ireland. It had promulgated its rules, and death or mutilation was the early fate of those disobeying them. Money was being received in large sums by its treasury from America, without which and the condign punishment meted out to offenders against its laws, its reign, if ever begun, would have rapidly come to an end. Its committees were constituting themselves in every village of any size, and assuming to themselves many of the functions of a lawful government, such as holding courts for the trial of cases connected with land, and disobedience to the general rules of the organisation, or non-compliance with its local edicts. There were isolated attempts, in the

early part of the movement, on the part of a few of the Romish clergy and of the people to assert their independence; but all such were made to speedily feel the weight of the Land League displeasure, and suffered in various degrees to such an extent that few were tempted to follow their example. There was no cohesion on the part of the landlords, nor among other people whose conscience, loyalty, or interests prompted them to resist the self-created authority set up in their midst; while, on the other hand, the Land League was daily becoming more compact, strong, and tyrannical. Weakness and want of organisation on the part of the Government and of its adherents inspired the Land League with a daring, if not a courage, that placed the country at its feet so long as open rebellion was not resorted to. Such was the position of affairs in the beginning of 1881.

Before entering further upon my narrative, it appears to me desirable that the reader should be made acquainted with the means

at the disposal of the Government in Ireland for preserving the peace and administering the law in the provinces. Without this knowledge, it will be difficult to form an opinion as to the relative strength of the contending forces, and the means taken from time to time, on the one side and on the other, for the promotion of the ends respectively aimed at.

The Irish Government in 1881 practically consisted of the Lord Lieutenant (not in the Cabinet), assisted and advised in Dublin by the permanent Under Secretary, the Law Adviser, and the Inspector-General of Police. The Chief Secretary (in the Cabinet), with the Solicitor and Attorney General, being in Parliament, were detained in London during the greater part of the session. All matters of importance were laid before the Chief Secretary, whether he was in Dublin or London. When, however, he was in London, and immediate action was necessary, a reference was not always possible.

Immediately subordinate to the Lord Lieu-

tenant, and in direct official communication with the Under Secretary, were seventy-two resident magistrates. The resident magistracy in Ireland is one of the few branches of the home Civil Service admission into which is not regulated by any clearly defined qualification. So far as the maintenance of order was concerned, the Government relied mainly upon the Royal Irish Constabulary, assisted and, during disturbance or when employed in force, controlled by the resident magistrates. There were also the county justices of the peace. A candidate for the appointment of resident magistrate has not to pass any examination either in law or general education; and it may be at once admitted, that if the Lord Lieutenant desired to appoint an individual possessed of absolutely no qualification whatever, the power to so appoint is unrestricted. It may be further admitted, that in days gone by many gentlemen obtained these appointments, not on account of their capacity, intelligence, or experience, but as a reward for political ser-

vices rendered to the Government of the time by those who supported the candidates' applications. Prior to 1874 the salary to begin with was but £300 a-year—a sum not likely to attract men, either from the legal or military professions, with any career open to them. Notwithstanding this very small remuneration, some of the best magistrates now serving in Ireland entered upon their duties before the date mentioned. In 1874, the seventy-two officers were divided into three classes, the salaries being respectively £425, £550, and £675 per annum, with £100 horse allowance, and a small sum for travelling expenses added. Upon appointment, a gentleman invariably entered at the foot of the lowest grade. Promotion went by seniority, as a rule, though occasionally by selection, to meet the requirements of the public service.

It would serve no useful purpose to here consider whether any of the appointments made in the far past were open to objection, or whether the best men were secured in all

cases, even for the small remuneration offered; but it is of public interest to record that during the last eight years inducements to retire have been offered to and accepted by many, and, in the selections made for new appointments, the most conscientious consideration has been given to the character and qualifications of applicants. In numerous instances officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary are rewarded for meritorious service by being given resident magistracies. To this, I think, there are serious objections, to which I shall hereafter allude. Several gentlemen called to the bar; at least one practising barrister; an officer in the army, who had served as a magistrate in India for years; and many other military officers, whose assiduity and capacity as magistrates under great difficulties, prove the circumspection shown in their selection; as well as other gentlemen, have been appointed during the past eight years. Up to the end of 1881 the duties of a resident magistrate were, as a rule, very light. In each county, accord-

ing to its size, one or more were stationed, to whom was assigned, irrespective of county boundaries, a certain number of petty sessions courts, which it was necessary to attend, generally, at least, once a-month. Under the ordinary law the official magistrate in Ireland has no power beyond that possessed by the county justice of the peace, excepting that, under certain Acts of Parliament, such as the licensing law, he can adjudicate alone in cases otherwise requiring two justices. His position, and the weight given to his opinions by his brother justices, depends much upon his own character and the disposition of the gentlemen sitting with him. The official was never, however, looked upon as magisterially superior, though the local justices frequently left him to act alone when cases of an unpopular or party nature were to be disposed of, as was often the case in the north of Ireland. In this they were right, for "party" cases usually resolve themselves into questions of religion, "Catholic" or

"Protestant," and party feeling is by no means confined to the masses.

According to my experience, notwithstanding the interested efforts of certain "leaders of the people" to induce the public to think otherwise, there was much confidence reposed by the rural population in the resident magistrates, it being recognised that their judgments in cases coming before them were based upon justice and the merits as disclosed, uninfluenced by any desire to seek after popularity or to serve other unworthy ends. I have known exceptions, but they were very rare.

Beyond being supposed to attend large fairs or other gatherings of people, it cannot be said that in peaceable times the resident magistrate was called upon to perform any executive duties. He had no general control over the police, which was ruled by the Inspector-General in Dublin, through the officers of the force in counties. He was in no manner responsible for the maintenance of order within his petty sessions district, which often

comprised portions of different counties. The fact that one resident magistrate's petty sessions district comprised portions of two or three sub-inspectors' police districts, and of two or more counties, and that different portions of one police district were within the jurisdiction of more than one resident magistrate, will show how extremely difficult, indeed impossible, it was to exercise authority or to fix responsibility when the urgent necessity of doing both became evident.

The preservation of order was the attribute of "the Castle," which attempted, when occasion arose, to maintain order from Dublin through the police. It will be seen how this system completely broke down in 1881, when the state of the country taxed the resources of the Government to an extreme degree. Without going into detail, it will be admitted that under any circumstances it is difficult to govern a country through the police alone. It was doubly so under such a centralised system as prevailed in Ireland in 1881.

Resident magistrates were naturally expected, being paid servants of the Crown, to communicate to the Lord Lieutenant any information coming within their knowledge, and their opinions as to passing or anticipated events within their districts bearing upon the maintenance of public order. Under special criminal enactments, they usually were and are endowed with powers not conferred upon unpaid justices. Justices of the peace were appointed by the Lord Chancellor, as a rule upon the recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county in which they were to act. All manners and conditions of men are to be found upon the commission of the peace. The county magnates, their agents, gentlemen of small estate, bankers, doctors, solicitors, farmers, millers, and shopkeepers are all to be found thereon. The only magisterial duty practically performed by, and I may say expected from, these gentlemen, is attendance at petty sessions courts. They do not consider themselves, nor does the Government hold them to

be, in any way responsible for the peace of their respective counties. As stated, the preservation of order is presumed, rightly or wrongly, in Ireland to be an imperial attribute of the Government.

In 1881, the vast majority of those local justices who were also large landed proprietors had been forced by events, if not to leave the country, at least to refrain from attendance at the various courts in which it had been their custom to sit, and where few but cases connected with the agitation were heard. Rightly or wrongly, they considered that the Government had deserted them; but under any circumstances, in driving about the lonely country roads they were liable to assassination. As in the Indian Mutiny the officers of Sepoy regiments refused to believe in the treachery of those among whom they had passed their lives, and remained at their posts until shot down in their mess-rooms, so the gentry in Ireland who remained in the country were loath to believe individually that their doom

had been decreed, and that the executioners were to be found among their own tenants. But the conviction was at last forced upon them. At this period, the only offences for trial by the magistrates were cases the general nature of which likewise prompted the landed proprietors of the county or their agents to abstain from attendance, and the consequence was that it was only the local justices—such as bankers, doctors, or millers—who, owing to the nature of their professions or trades, and to their being dependent upon the patronage of the people, attended the courts or performed any other magisterial duties. The action of officials was thus seriously hampered, the justices alluded to, in most cases, being most anxious to make their partiality apparent, by their language and otherwise.

The Royal Irish Constabulary can best be described as an army of occupation, upon which is imposed the performance of certain civil duties. There is no county service as in

England, the men being enlisted from all parts as members of one force, for service throughout the country. Candidates are obliged to undergo a physical as well as an educational test, having qualified in which, they join the depot in Dublin, where a course of discipline and instruction in both military training and civil duties is imposed upon them. The organisation at the depot (which is situated in the Phœnix Park) may be said to be purely military, for it constitutes not only a school for recruits but a reserve of both cavalry and infantry, from which the force is maintained at its proper strength, and from which sudden demands for men upon emergencies are met. A commandant, adjutant, and the usual military staff of officers are attached to the depot, which is an institution reflecting the highest credit upon those responsible for its organisation and effective maintenance. The training of a recruit lasts during quiet times for the best part of a year, after which he is drafted to some county other than his own. The

transformation that takes place, apparently in every characteristic, is very remarkable, and, I may add, very wonderful, showing, on the one hand, the natural weakness of the Irish character, and on the other, the facility with which it can be moulded and turned to good account. The recruit joins the depot a "wild Irishman"; he leaves it a steady, loyal, respectable, thoughtful, and disciplined member of society, forming one of a body of men unequalled among nations in character and *physique*, of which the people of the United Kingdom may well feel proud. It is left to those members of the community in Ireland, who designate themselves "leaders of the people," to apply to their brethren in the Royal Irish Constabulary such terms as "liveried scoundrels" and "curs of low degree"!

At the time of which I am writing, the force consisted of about 9000 men, commanded by an Inspector-General, who resided in Dublin, and who, assisted by a Deputy In-

spector-General, exercised complete control in all matters connected with the detection of crime, as well as with the interior economy, discipline, movements, and promotion of officers and men. To each county a certain number of men was allotted, according to population. This was known as the "free force," and was paid from Imperial funds. If extra men were required in a county for any temporary purposes, such as large race meetings or other gatherings, it was necessary that a requisition should be signed by a magistrate, usually the resident magistrate of the county, which was forwarded by the local police officer to the Inspector-General in Dublin, where the necessary arrangements were made by that officer, either by drafting men from other counties or by sending some from the reserve in Dublin. The bill was duly presented to the grand jury at the next assizes, and the money paid from local funds to the Imperial Government. When it appeared to the Lord Lieutenant that the continued presence of an

extra force was necessary in any county or barony, owing to the existence of crime or lawlessness, his Excellency had power, under an Act of William IV., to proclaim such locality as "disturbed," and to quarter extra police therein. The county paid half the cost of this extra establishment, and the Imperial Government the other moiety. The grand jury collected the extra rate in the same manner as other local taxation. A barony was the smallest area proclaimable under the Act, and it therefore followed that, the area taxed being large, and the sum to be levied representing but half the actual increased cost of constabulary, the rate was hardly felt by those living in the locality, and responsible more or less for its lawless condition.

An inspector commanded the police in a county, which was divided into districts, the men in which were under the control of sub-, now called district, inspectors. As is well known, the constabulary is armed with rifles and sword-bayonets, the uniform being in all

respects military. All crime was reported to the Inspector-General by his own officers, who, however, in the case of "an outrage" occurring, brought it to the notice of the resident magistrate having jurisdiction, by means of a report summarised from that sent to the Inspector-General. For all purposes of criminal administration, the sub-inspector was the unit. For every act of daily official life that this young officer had to perform, there existed a particular section of the constabulary code applicable, and to its provisions he was rigorously bound by a system of "red-tape," the ties of which were manufactured apace during times of peace, only to be rent asunder of necessity during the great struggle upon which we were about to enter. Every possibility of an officer acting upon his own responsibility seemed to have been carefully guarded against. His reports were "submitted" to the county inspector, who in turn "submitted" them to the Inspector-General in Dublin, who passed such orders upon them as his complete igno-

rance of local requirements might suggest. It was a system centralised to the last degree. Little or no action of any kind could be taken without orders from "headquarters"—*i.e.*, the Inspector-General in Dublin. When disorder became general and reports voluminous; when a readiness to assume responsibility, decision of purpose, resource in difficulty, and energetic local action became necessary on the part of individuals, if the country was to be saved,—the system strangled itself.

Whatever in theory may have been the duties of a county inspector, in practice they were confined, for the most part, to inspections of men, arms, and records, together with the immediate control of all matters connected with the interior economy and discipline of the force under his command. All instructions regarding criminal administration came from the Inspector-General's office in Dublin, and he would have been a rash sub-inspector who would have taken important action without such orders. In matters of moment, the

Inspector-General himself often applied to the Under Secretary for instructions. The reader must clearly bear in mind that the resident magistrate bore no responsibility for maintaining order. His duty was to attend the petty sessions courts. The sub-inspector and county inspector of constabulary were also irresponsible, for the duty of the latter practically was only to forward instructions from the authorities in Dublin to the sub-inspector in the district. Dublin Castle assumed to itself the duty of maintaining order and protecting life and property throughout Ireland. History will record the manner in which it acquitted itself.

CHAPTER IV.

KILMALLOCK—SERIOUS CONDITION OF DISTRICT—POLICE BARRACKS LOOPHOLED FOR RIFLE-FIRE—LAND LEAGUE COMMITTEE AT KILMALLOCK, KILFINANE, AND CHARLEVILLE—COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEE—FENIAN ARMED ATTACKS ON KILMALLOCK BARRACKS IN 1867—CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION—SEDITIOUS PROCEEDINGS OF LAND LEAGUE—POST-CARS REFUSED BY LICENSED PUBLICANS FOR GOVERNMENT USE—PURCHASE CARS, HORSES, ETC., IN LIMERICK FOR POLICE—MOB ATTACK BARRACK — DISPERSED BY CONSTABULARY—THREATEN TO FIRE—ARREST OF LEADING RIOTERS—THEIR COMMITTAL TO PRISON AND FINAL DISCHARGE—REASONS FOR LENIENCY—"BOYCOTTING"—LAND LEAGUE COURTS—CASE OF PATRICK BERKERY—HE DISAPPEARS.

I HAD not been at Droitwich more than a week when I received a telegram from Mr Burke, the Under Secretary, requesting me to go to Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, as soon as I could conveniently do so, and take charge of that district. I at once returned to Dublin, as I was aware of the very serious condition of public affairs in the south of Ireland. From

conversations with Lord Cowper and Mr Burke, I learned that there was considerable ground for anxiety as regards the district to which I was going, as the revolutionary party at Kilmallock was headed by a priest, whose violence seemed likely to bring about a crisis. I was, however, warned that it would be a much more serious business restoring order in that portion of the south of Ireland than it had proved to be in the county of Longford.

Arriving at Kilmallock on the 12th of May 1881, I went to the hotel owned by Mr O'Sullivan (M.P. for the county). In consequence of the reports made to me, it seemed desirable to lodge nearer to the police barracks, and accordingly I changed my quarters to the hotel owned by Mr Clery, the vice-chairman of the Land League, which was situated exactly opposite the police barracks. I mention this trifling incident, as it had, in a few days, an important bearing upon events.

My district was composed of the country adjoining the three towns of Kilmallock and

Kilfinane, in the county of Limerick, and Charleville, in the county of Cork. At each of the last-named towns there was a detachment of infantry (about three officers and eighty men), temporarily lodged in hired buildings and in the workhouse, as well as a force of some fifteen constabulary and an officer; while at Kilmallock there were no troops, but about twenty constabulary and an officer on special duty. The out-stations, of which there may have been twelve or fifteen, contained on an average five men each. The barracks in which the men of the constabulary lived, were, as a rule, hired buildings specially prepared for their use. For instance, most of the houses had iron bullet-proof shutters attached to the windows, loopholed for rifle-fire from within. This was no innovation, but is a characteristic of police barracks in the south and west of Ireland. I feel certain that the fact will astonish many who now for the first time learn it.

Kilmallock, Kilfinane, and Charleville were

the chief towns of the districts adjoining them; and at each a Land League committee had been formed, composed of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and some eight or ten members. The parish priest at Kilfinane, the Rev. Father Lea, and the curate at Kilmallock, the Rev. Father Eugene Sheehy, were presidents of their respective branches. The parish priest at Charleville, the Rev. Father Rice, and at Kilmallock, the Rev. Father Doynes, two eminently worthy men, would not mix themselves up in the movement. They were good representatives of the old class of Irish priests, now unfortunately dying out. The committees were composed, for the most part, of men who were Fenians. One member of the Kilmallock branch had received a gunshot-wound during the armed attack upon the barracks in 1867; and others had taken a more or less active part in the abortive Fenian rising of that year, in consequence of which some had been in prison, and others had absconded

to America to escape a like fate. Few members of committee had any stake in the land. In my experience generally in Ireland, respectable farmers did not put themselves forward as prominent members of the League, though a few with little to lose in fortune or character did so. The members of committees, as a rule, kept a public-house, draper's or other shop, or carried on some small trade in the town. The game paid for a long time, for the people were supposed to patronise the establishments of those devoting themselves to "the cause." These were the men whom the Government, during the earlier days of the Land League, believed were carrying on a "constitutional agitation."

The laws relating to the occupation of land beyond a doubt required remodelling on grounds of justice and humanity; and it would have been perfectly lawful for the people to have held meetings for the purpose of discussing the subject and petitioning Parliament, as well as to have agitated

for the redress of grievances believed to exist. I lost no opportunity of impressing this on the people, who disdained, however, petitioning the Imperial Parliament. Instead of this being done, the Land League established laws of its own making, formed local committees for the government of districts, instituted its own local tribunals, passed its own judgments, executed its own sentences, and generally usurped the functions of the Crown. This was called "constitutional agitation." It was not until the publication of the "No Rent" Manifesto in 1881 that the Land League, which had directed the people throughout, was declared an illegal society by the Government, although the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin, during the trial of Parnell and others in January 1881, had laid down very clearly its position in the eyes of the law.

The daring effrontery of the committee at Kilmallock amused me. Mr Clery, in whose hotel I was staying, was a licensed publican,

and kept post-horses upon his licensed premises. The day after my arrival I asked for a post-car to enable me to visit an adjoining station, but was seriously informed that I "could not have one without the leave of the Land League"! A few minutes afterwards, the principal members of the League being in the house, an informal meeting was held, and I was informed that "permission was refused." I at once telegraphed to Belfast for my own dog-cart, horse, and groom, and they safely arrived in a few days. Cars being refused also for all police purposes, I telegraphed to Limerick, three days after my arrival, to purchase and send out six horses, cars, compressed hay, oats, &c., and these duly arrived under strong armed escort. The cavalcade had to pass through the whole length of the town before reaching the barracks, so the people soon became aware of the important addition to our resources and the defeat of their own scheme to isolate us. I purchased boards, and erected stables in the small barrack-yard.

The people generally had assumed a defiant and insulting demeanour, and no one would be seen speaking to a policeman, for fear of exciting the suspicion that information was being given. On the night of Monday, 16th May, at about ten o'clock, however, I was warned that the police barracks were at once to be attacked, and in a few moments the Land League band turned out, playing round the town, and collecting the young and fiery spirits of the locality. Fortunately having removed from my original quarters, I just had time to cross the road into the barracks, where I was giving instructions to the police officer, when the mob, to the number of some 300 or 400 persons, marched down the road, headed by a brass band, and took up a position on the street opposite the barracks, from which they were separated by about ten yards of open ground. They had no doubt the intention of destroying our newly arrived vehicles and killing our horses, believing it not possible that the few men in the barracks

would venture outside, considering their own overpowering numbers. The band was playing "Donald Aboo," a well-known rebel tune. The rank and file, armed with sticks and stones, were yelling defiance, and the fall of heavy stones began to be heard upon the roof and against the iron shutters of the building. Within, six men with their rifles had been told off by Mr Jennings, the excellent sub-inspector, to defend the building and our transport, with orders only to fire if absolutely essential for the purpose. The other fourteen men had put away their arms, and had slung their batons over their wrists (for I never contemplated the use of either rifles or bayonets on an Irish mob unless under most extreme circumstances), when Mr Jennings, putting away his sword and arming himself with a black-thorn stick, pronounced everything ready. The stones came falling thickly upon the house, and, fearing a rush would be made and our animals destroyed, we opened the door and sallied out. The light from the

door for a few moments put us at a disadvantage. We received a few heavy stones on our bodies; but keeping their heads down, the men were soon too close to the mob to be injured much by stones. Mr Jennings and his brave men received some rough handling from their assailants, but dividing the mob in two, they first effectually dispersed one half, and then turning upon the other, which took some time to break, eventually succeeded in completely routing the whole of the rioters, who fled in every direction, throwing away their sticks, stones, and instruments in their flight.

It seemed clear to me that this attack upon the barracks gave me a good and immediate opportunity of putting into practice my theory regarding the efficacy of the common law of the land; in order, therefore, to prevent the local leaders rallying after their defeat, and to show that the action of the law could be both swift and strong, I sat up all night taking sworn informations and issuing warrants for the arrest of the leading rioters. In

about half an hour after the attack had been repulsed, it was reported that parties were assembling and threatening the barracks on various sides. I sent a leading Land Leaguer to inform them that, in case of any renewed attack upon the barracks, I should be compelled to order the police to use their fire-arms. We passed a rather anxious night, for those who knew the locality best believed it to be in a very critical state, and a renewed and more serious attack inevitable. The people were under no restraint. Respectable men stood aside, while the mob did as it willed. Before morning dawned, the leading rioters had been taken into custody. During the following day I committed them to prison for seven days on remand, refusing bail. This I always found to be, under such circumstances, an excellent preliminary proceeding in cases which admitted of no doubt. It never failed to bring offenders to reason, and avoided the necessity of punishment of a more severe nature. When the week expired, the prisoners made humble sub-

mission, expressed deep regret for what had happened, and promised future good behaviour, so I was enabled to send them home to their friends. This may seem to have been a very inadequate mode of dealing with such a serious offence; but I well knew that it would have been quite useless returning the prisoners for trial. This course would have only resulted in the law being further defeated and discredited. I determined, therefore, to endeavour to re-establish order under the powers vesting in me as a magistrate under the ordinary law. They had received prompt and unexpected punishment, their band instruments had been destroyed in the contest, and the rioters had been rendered ridiculous in the eyes of their neighbours. An Irishman is very sensitive to ridicule. Above all, the law had been asserted by the arrest of the ringleaders within a few hours of the commission of the offence, and the whole population had witnessed their departure for the jail at Limerick. During all the disturbances in the south and west I never lost

sight of the fact, whether when sitting as a magistrate or subsequently when holding a higher and more responsible position, that the ignorant and excitable people were but the dupes and victims, while the real delinquents who goaded them on to disorder and crime were at their ease in Dublin or making Land League speeches in the House of Commons. I never failed to draw the attention of those who put themselves within the grasp of the law to this fact. It is not surprising that my conduct in asserting the law of the land, and my language in advising those who came within its reach, were unpalatable to the persons to whom my remarks referred. The object was to bring the people back to some sense of decency and order, and at the same time to show them that, come what might, the Government would not tolerate its authority being defied. Punishment was not the most effectual means of gaining this end, which could only be looked for, under the existing conditions, by putting forth all the powers

inherent to one's position, and by exercising them with scrupulous justice but unbending firmness. To send persons for trial before a jury was but to advertise the weakness of the law; and as my object was to assert its strength, I avoided this course during my magisterial administration at Kilmallock. For a month at least after this outburst, outlying sentries and pickets were placed at night about the police barracks, in order to guard against any sudden attack upon our horses. Extra men speedily arrived, and a detachment of infantry, as well as a troop of the Army Transport Corps, was asked for.

It was not long before I was initiated into the art of "boycotting." Within a few days of my arrival I was walking along the main street of the town, and met two men running, closely followed by a tumultuous mob. Sticks and stones were being thrown at the runaways, and the people were shouting out,—"Boycott them! boycott them!" The two men ran into a public-house, the doors of

which, on being closed behind them, sounded with the blows of sticks made at their heads. The police came out and cleared away the mob, and I requested the officer to find out the cause of the disturbance. It turned out that it solely arose from the fact that the two men were suspected of having paid their rent, and on their first appearance in Kilmallock met with the reception recorded. They indignantly assured me that they were "quite innocent," and had not paid it for two years! It was necessary for the police after nightfall to escort them to their homes, about three miles away. This was my first introduction to practical "boycotting." I have little doubt but that the unfortunate men would have been killed had the mob succeeded in taking them. I was severely attacked in the House of Commons by the brave leaders of these gallant roughs for my action in saving the men's lives.

A case which had previously occurred came under my knowledge on arriving at Kilmal-

lock, a short reference to which will convey some idea of the usurpation of power by Father Sheehy and his friends. Living about three or four miles from the town was one Patrick Berkery, a small farmer and publican, with a shop at the cross-roads near Bulgaden. He was a man in a very fair local position, and against whom no one had a word to say. In fact, I believe he was a man well liked in his neighbourhood. On a branch of the Land League being formed at Kilmallock, he incurred its displeasure, owing to his refusing to obey its edicts. It seemed that many years previously some one had surrendered the farm occupied by Berkery, owing to inability to pay rent, or to some other cause with which Berkery had no connection. A representative of the late tenant pondered over the doctrines he heard preached by the Land League, and seeing an opportunity for plunder, laid his case before the local committee at Kilmallock. This body took the matter up, and Berkery received a written

order to appear before it on a day fixed, to answer the complaint. This direction was signed by the secretary, a broken-down carpenter. I cannot remember whether Berkery appeared before the committee or not; but in the end he received a written order from it, directing him in the name of the Land League either to vacate the farm at once or to pay to the complainant a considerable sum of money (about £200). This injunction Berkery very properly refused to obey, and the facts coming to the knowledge of the police, they insisted upon Berkery giving up the documents, and a full report of the case was made to the Irish Government. A prosecution was directed against Father Sheehy, the president, and other members of the Land League committee. On the day of the proceedings at the Kilmallock court of petty sessions, this reverend gentleman, by the violence of the language he addressed to the people in the streets, created scenes hardly conducive to respect for the law. When the case was

called, I was informed Berkery did not appear, and the Land League solicitor charged the Government with having "spirited him away." The fact was, that he had been induced, by threats on the part of the Land League, to leave the country. As he (the principal witness) was not forthcoming, the case fell through, and a scene of wild excitement followed. The law had been defeated, and this of itself was a great triumph for Father Sheehy and his colleagues. These events occurred some time before my arrival; but I shall have occasion to revert, further on, to what subsequently took place as a sequel to them.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL CONDITION OF KILMALLOCK DISTRICT — ORDINARY LAW OF ITSELF NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO RESTORE ORDER —FATHER EUGENE SHEEHY—HIS VIOLENT CONDUCT—CRITICAL STATE OF LOCALITY — REASONS FOR DECIDING TO RECOMMEND ARREST OF FATHER SHEEHY AND LAND LEAGUE COMMITTEES AT KILMALLOCK AND KILFINANE—COUNCIL IN DUBLIN—DECISION ARRIVED AT—ARRANGEMENTS FOR PRESERVING ORDER—ARREST OF FATHER SHEEHY AND OTHERS —PAINFUL SCENE—MR CLERY NOT ARRESTED—HIS WARNING —CONSPIRACIES TO MURDER—WARNING FROM UNDER SECRETARY — EXCITEMENT CONSEQUENT ON FATHER SHEEHY'S ARREST — KILFINANE — ARRANGEMENTS FOR CARRYING OUT ARRESTS THERE—FERTILITY OF COUNTRY—FATHER LEA—ARRESTS MADE—THE CHRISTIAN PRIEST—EFFECTS OF REMOVAL OF COMMITTEE—ORGANISATION NECESSARY—GOVERNMENT SYSTEM FAULTY — NO INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY— SYSTEM IN INDIA — REINFORCEMENTS — MOUNT COOTE — ITS OCCUPATION BY TROOPS.

THE country about Kilmallock is a rich pasture-land; the farms are large, and the people generally very well to do. One farmer paid no less than £800 a-year rent, and every farm was well stocked with dairy cattle. The strike against rent, however, at the time of which I

am writing (June 1881), was general. The owners and agent of most of the adjoining properties had been obliged to leave their residences and live in Dublin or elsewhere. Throughout Ireland the people were daily becoming more daring, and the collisions between the police and large hostile gatherings were of ominously frequent occurrence. The situation may thus be described. The Government existed but in name, and anarchy was triumphant. All rent was refused except upon terms dictated by the tenants. There were but twenty policemen in the town of Kilmallock (the headquarters), without any means of locomotion. These men had much difficulty in providing themselves even with food, being "boycotted." The licensed publicans refused them the use of any public conveyance, which rendered the men almost powerless to act on an emergency outside the town. Indeed, I believe had any of the men left the town, their barrack would have been sacked. The Land

League government sat in solemn court twice a-week, and oftener as required. Under its direct orders every illegal act was committed. The people no more sought redress at the magistrate's court, but applied to that of the Land League for the adjustment of their disputes and the redress of their grievances, real and imaginary. The very servants were driven from the police barrack. The local agent of most of the adjoining properties, Mr Uniacke Townsend, had been hunted from his home, with his family, by those means now well known to the public. If the Land League considered that A had a better right, according to its laws, than B to any lands of which the latter was tenant in possession, it passed its order of fine, transfer, or forcible dispossession. As a result, A was carried "by armed men with blackened faces" during the night, and put upon the land, and before morning was comfortably settled in a wooden hut, erected by the "armed men with blackened faces" for his use. B naturally sought safety

in flight. In some instances the injured persons had sought redress in the superior courts, and obtained decrees, which either had not been executed, or, if executed, had been promptly followed by a forcible resumption of possession. There were fourteen such cases on my arrival, in which persons, by order of the Land League, were thus holding forcible possession of the lands of others. It had become almost an impossibility to serve a writ out of any of the superior courts, the decrees of which were equally in abeyance. If a bailiff or writ-server appeared in the country, it became alive with mobs and groups of men ready for the fray. In many instances in Ireland these officers had been murdered, burnt, stripped, flogged, or stoned. It was not possible with the means at hand to protect the lives of those in danger, or of the sheriff and other officers of the law. There were almost daily open-air meetings in one place or another, at which the most violent and treasonable language was used

by both priests and other "leaders" of the people. The people were maddened by the speeches of these demagogues, who drew in vivid colours the most harrowing pictures of tyranny, cruelty, bloodthirstiness, and oppression on the part of the Government and landlords. The police were hooted and stoned when seen. The country, I repeat, was in a state of perfect anarchy.

In this district there had been no murders, for landlords and agents alike had been driven away, and even those loyally disposed among the people prudently bowed to the authority of the Land League in preference to being shot for opposing it. Is there any one who will believe that, with the country in this state, the authority of the Crown so completely displaced, and with that of the Land League so well established, it would have been possible under the ordinary law alone to have restored order and public security? I found myself face to face with a state of affairs recognised to be bordering upon civil war, and much

more difficult to deal with. The Land League committee was able to rule by means not at the disposal of the Government. The reins of power were in its hands and not in ours. The ordinary law, I have always contended, was sufficiently strong, when properly applied by just and temperate men of resource and courage, to maintain order where it existed, but not under all circumstances to restore it. Within the first few days of my residence at Kilmallock, it became evident that matters had gone too far to permit of any hope of restoring quiet and orderly government under its provisions alone. Father Sheehy and his committee had usurped all power and authority, and his one object in the use of both seemed to be to drive the people to acts of anarchy and violence. It was only after deep consideration that I came to the conclusion that it was necessary, for the time, to remove the Land League committee, if order was to be restored. The arrest of a priest or minister of religion by the executive must be at all times

a proceeding of grave moment, and can only be supported on the ground of extreme political or administrative necessity. In Father Sheehy's case, had this course not been followed, the reverend gentleman's violent and rebellious nature, or, as his friends would no doubt urge, his patriotic feelings, would probably have supplied the match to kindle the flame of revolution in the south. Father Sheehy lived in the same house as Father Doynes, the parish priest; but the latter so strongly disapproved of his curate's general behaviour that, I believe, no intercourse took place between them further than what was a necessity in their mutual relations. That Father Sheehy was adored by the roughs there is no doubt, though the Roman Catholics of any position did not conceal the feelings of pain and disapproval with which they regarded his violent conduct. With the roughs at this time, however, rested the power. Father Sheehy was not an able man, working out with intelligence and dignity what he

thought to be the regeneration of the people. The noise and violence of his utterances brought him to the front in a small community, and the fact that, being a priest, he had gone great lengths with impunity, encouraged him in his boldness, and secured him the support of the party of treason and violence, then in the ascendant. About a month or so before I arrived at Kilmallock, there was a Land League meeting in the town, and Father Sheehy was addressing the people in the street. The police officer, Mr Fraser, and a military officer from a near detachment, were standing by, listening to his remarks. On Father Sheehy noticing their presence, he called the attention of the mob to them, using words to the effect of, "Don't nail their ears to the post." At once the mob set upon the two gentlemen, who were very roughly used, and only succeeded in saving themselves by taking refuge in the house of the petty sessions clerk, a police pensioner, who kept the doors closed behind them until assistance arrived.

I have shown that the people had been driven to such a state of disorganisation and frenzy, that acts not to be distinguished from those of civil war might at any moment have been committed. The anxiety of the Government evinced itself in the fact that flying columns of troops had been organised in different parts of the country, one being at Limerick (a distance of about twenty miles from Kilmallock) at the time of which I write, ready to move at a moment's notice.

Any attempt on my part to have asserted the law before dethroning the Land League Committee would have met with the most formidable opposition, and, in my opinion, would have only aggravated the position, strained as it was already to a dangerous extent. At the same time, I had been sent to restore order and the supremacy of the law, and I felt that it would only be giving strength to the already most powerful forces arrayed against me, if there was any hesitation in taking some immediate action to assert

the power of the Government and to break that of the League. The things I was most anxious to avoid were bloodshed, and those scenes of tumult and disorder which led to it. I had been sent, not only to rule, but to protect the people from themselves, and I should have felt it, indeed, as a most painful calamity had there been in the prosecution of the task any loss of life on the part of either the troops or constabulary on the one hand, or the people on the other.

Having in the course of a week satisfied myself personally with reference to the various matters which had to be weighed before deciding what course should be followed in dealing with the situation, I came to the conclusion that the only means whereby we could hope to grapple with it and to do any good, while avoiding a crisis of which it was difficult to foretell the end, consisted in arresting and removing, under the powers of the so-called suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the whole of the members

composing the Land League committees at both Kilmallock and Kilfinane. Early on the 19th May, I went to Dublin and explained the situation. A council was held, at which Lord Cowper presided, the other two members being high officers of State and both Roman Catholics. Father Sheehy had left but one course open to the Government, and with a deep and painful sense of the necessity, it was decided to arrest him, as well as the principal members of the Land League committees at Kilmallock and Kilfinane. The parish priest of Kilfinane was the president of his Land League committee, and from my point of view had done an infinity of mischief in his parish; but in his conduct he did not go to such extremes in public as Father Sheehy did, and his arrest was not proposed. The warrants were signed during the afternoon, and the arrangements necessary for preserving order upon the occasion were left to me. The flying column at Limerick was placed at my disposal, and I wired in cipher to the officers command-

ing the detachments of troops at Kilfinane and Charleville to concentrate by 5 A.M. next morning on Kilmallock. I took down by the evening train with me fifty men of the constabulary from the depot. We arrived at Kilmallock at about 1 A.M., and all arrangements were at once made. At 4 A.M. I handed the Lord Lieutenant's warrants over to the sub-inspector of police, who proceeded to execute them. Those members of the committee living outside the town were first brought in on cars and lodged in a private sitting-room in the barrack. I thought it desirable to be present at the arrest of Father Sheehy, for many and obvious reasons. The police officers knocked at the door of his house at about 5.30 A.M., but it was certainly an hour before any answer was made, and the reverend gentleman himself did not come out until about 7 A.M. I naturally felt some anxiety at the delay, as every one in the town was up and about, the street leading towards the barrack and railway station being

already thronged with an excited crowd of people. Father Sheehy, as I have before remarked, was a great favourite with the lower classes and poor people, to whom I believe he was kind and sympathetic; but he was at this time endeared above all to the mob by his presumptuous defiance of the law. I say presumptuous, for he presumed, according to his own words, on no Government having the courage to lay its hands upon a priest. When arrested he was allowed, in consideration for his feelings, to walk to the barrack with the Rev. Father Doynes, his parish priest, who bravely refused to desert him in his trouble, a few policemen and soldiers following at some distance. I shall never forget the scene as he proceeded up the street. The people fell upon their knees as he passed, and seized his hands and the skirts of his clothes, while begging his blessing before he left them. Shouts of defiance and loud awful curses greeted my appearance, as I walked towards the barracks through the people, who seemed

mad with excitement. I am free to admit that I hardly expected the proceedings to pass over without bloodshed. The whole scene was a very painful one to witness; and as I walked along that three-quarters of a mile of road, I came to the conclusion that there was something very wrong in a system of government that could permit disorder to reach the climax of which all that I saw that morning was a vivid and terrible example. By 9 A.M., the Kilmallock Land League government was on its way to Naas in the train, and I think that many inwardly felt gratified at the fact, though few dared to say so.

The one leading member of the local committee not arrested was Mr Clery, the proprietor of the hotel at which I was staying. He was vice-chairman of the League, and no less culpable than the other members. My only reason for not recommending the removal of this gentleman with his colleagues was the fact that he was at the time my host. Though paying for my room, I was nevertheless under

the man's roof, and I was "eating his salt." However, in order to give myself full liberty of action for the future, I took the same day an up-stairs room in a small house hired as a temporary police barrack, and in these quarters I spent the next two months of my life.

After Father Sheehy had left by the train, I saw Mr Clery standing in the street. I asked him what he thought would be the result of the action of the Government, and he replied, with a very meaning expression on his face, "There'll be blood spilt." I said I trusted not, for the sake of those who attempted to spill it; but that if he alluded to my blood, I was well able to take care of myself. However, from that day reports of conspiracies to murder me came in from all sides. Special police messengers brought me warnings. A local justice came to see me at night, saying he dare not do so by day, and told me that his servant had overheard an arrangement being made to kill me; while

each post brought me scores of anonymous letters from all parts, couched in the most gross language, but all telling me to make my peace with God, for my days were numbered. Even some of the parcels I received by railway had death's-heads and cross-bones drawn on the labels. I received also warnings and directions from the Government to adequately protect myself, and a private letter from poor Mr Burke, the Under Secretary, telling me to "spare no precaution." Poor Burke! I wish he had acted up to the advice he so thoughtfully gave me. A kinder, braver, and more hard-working official never served his country.

From this time I was closely watched by policemen. A man slept at my door, even in the barrack; a sentry was under my window by day and night; if I went into the street, there were always in plain clothes two men close behind me, others at a little distance off, before, behind me, and on the other side of the street; if I went for a walk to get a

little fresh air, even after a hard day's work, ten men with loaded rifles followed me; if I rode, a mounted escort was with me; and if I drove, ten men followed me on cars. If I moved at morning, day, or night, I heard close behind me the footsteps of my faithful and brave-hearted protectors, Irishmen to the core, brave, noble, and unselfish, ready at any moment to sacrifice their lives in doing their duty.

The arrest of Father Sheehy and the members of his Land League committee naturally created great excitement throughout Ireland, and gave rise in the House of Commons to the most heated debates and violent attacks upon the Government by Mr Parnell and his followers. Mr Forster had no difficulty in supporting the action of the Executive, and he bravely defended, as he always did, those officers serving under him, who were doing their duty under circumstances of difficulty and responsibility uncommon in our history.

The work, however, was only in its initial

stage. The preliminaries necessary to any action had been but half carried out. The committee at Kilfinane had yet to be displaced, and the Lord Lieutenant's warrants had not reached me. I wrote to Mr Burke, urging the danger of any delay, and recapitulating the necessity of immediately completing our task, if any good was to come from what we had already done. This was the first instance of a Land League committee being removed *en masse*, and I had grounds for fearing that the outburst of declamation which followed on the part of the leaders of the revolution, both in the country and in Parliament, might cause the Government to hesitate in its action. We had entered upon a bold course, from which I anticipated the most beneficial results. It had been adopted upon facts I laid before the Government, and upon my advice. My responsibility, however, would only be complete when the proceedings I had recommended were carried out in their entirety. These proceedings I felt sure would result in the

Government being completely re-established in authority in those districts under my control; but if, on the other hand, they were only partially executed, and the people, the lawless and law-abiding, recognised hesitation or timidity, the position would have even been more hopeless than it was before. On Monday, 23d May, the warrants reached me, and the evening was spent in making arrangements for having them executed the next morning at daybreak.

Kilfinane is situated about seven miles from Kilmallock, upon a spur of the Galtee Mountains. It is unconnected by railway with Kilmallock, and is upon the border of a large extent of country stretching away to the mountains, on the confines of the three counties of Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, where the inhabitants had shown themselves to be peculiarly lawless and defiant. It was therefore necessary to provide a military escort, as well as the constabulary, to bring in the prisoners by road to Kilmallock, for conveyance by rail to

Dublin. The officer commanding at Charleville was requested to march his men on Kilmallock, so as to arrive there from Kilfinane at six the next morning, and the detachment at Kilfinane was warned to be ready for duty at daylight. At 2 A.M. on the 24th May we marched with about fifty men from Kilmallock, arriving at Kilfinane at about 4 A.M. It was a lovely morning. The road passed through the richest country in Ireland. In the fields on each side there were large herds of fat milch cattle, up to their hocks in rich pasture. The scenery became more beautiful each mile, as we got on the higher land. I shall never forget the reflections that passed through my mind when, turning round, I looked down upon the fertile country below, extending as far as the eye could reach in one long valley, teeming with life, and apparently as peaceful as it was lovely to look upon.

On arrival at Kilfinane, Captain Bell, with his detachment of the 48th, joined our party, which formed up quietly in the square in the

centre of the town. The police officers at once proceeded to execute the warrants, and before long the prisoners were seated upon cars ready to start. The parish priest, the Rev. Father Lea, of course appeared upon the scene, and entered into communication with them. As one of the "suspects," named Daniel Reardon, a local publican, was about to get upon the car provided for him, he shook his clenched fist violently at me (I was standing at about two yards' distance), saying, "You have done your worst now—by God! I'll have your life!" The Christian priest, standing beside him, remarked, with a significant look at me, "Don't say that, Dan; *others may do it.*" Though there were signs of disorder, the return march was completed by seven o'clock, and the prisoners sent off to Dublin by the first train. There was no disturbance at Kilmallock.

Having got rid of the hostile power in occupation, it only remained for me without loss of time to proceed to establish the authority

of the Government before the Land League rallied from the effects of the blow it had received. Isolated arrests under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, properly known as the Protection to Person and Property Act, though restraining the individuals, and thus perhaps preventing crime, never had much effect in restoring order. The local vacancies thus created were speedily filled up by hungry "patriots," and no good result was produced in the district. Where no good effect was produced, a bad one followed. But in removing the whole local governing body of the Land League at the same time, the opportunity was provided for re-establishing the authority of the Government, bringing the people to a sense of their duty, rallying the well-disposed, and generally putting the locality into a condition more becoming to a portion of the United Kingdom. This end could, however, only be attained by local administration on the part of an officer of some position charged therewith. It was out of the question to sup-

pose that the duty could be carried out by the Lord Lieutenant or his secretaries in the Castle at Dublin, and yet our executive organisation was so faulty that no officer in a district was definitely charged with this duty. The county inspector of constabulary had no magisterial authority, and very properly so. The local justices considered that their duty began and ended in attending petty sessions courts and disposing of the cases there brought before them. Many of the resident magistrates believed that they were not clothed with any more general authority than the local justices possessed. If the Government had orders to give, they were prepared to execute them; but it was in their opinion no part of their duty to initiate action for the maintenance or restoration of order. For instance, all resident magistrates with whom I ever conversed on the subject were convinced that the violent, disorderly, and seditious public meetings of the Land League were palpably illegal, and were followed by crime, bloodshed, and

anarchy, as certainly as an explosion would follow the application of a lighted firebrand to a barrel of gunpowder. They received very precise orders from the Government that they were not to prohibit these meetings, and therefore felt themselves relieved from the small sense of responsibility that they might otherwise have experienced. It is, at least, a fact that resident magistrates were not vested with any particular executive authority, by virtue of any rules, regulations, or Act of Parliament, over either the troops or the constabulary, beyond that which belonged to them as ordinary justices of the peace. As regards myself, having been sent specially to restore order in certain localities, though receiving no specific instructions or written authority, I assumed that all the forces of the Crown within my jurisdiction were at my disposal, and I acted accordingly. Had the presumption been an erroneous one, it was to little purpose charging me with the mission. In India, where I had received ten years' official

training, the officer in charge of a district was responsible for the maintenance of order and general executive good government within it. Had such a system been in force in Ireland, we should not have had to deplore a long succession of civil disorders and abortive revolutions.

As a preliminary to the serious work which we were entering upon, it became necessary to ask for immediate reinforcements of constabulary; for there was no means at my disposal for asserting the law throughout the district, protecting life and property, or maintaining order. A detachment of infantry and a troop of the Army Transport Corps were also applied for. These in due course arrived, with six waggons, capable of carrying twenty men each; and it is to the mobility thus secured that is owed whatever success attended our efforts in this particular part of Ireland. There being no suitable accommodation for the troops in the town, a large country-house, the property of Mr Coote, and distant about

two miles from Kilmallock, was rented as a barrack. It was a handsome house, beautifully situated in extensive grounds. Some of the forty transport horses occupied the stables, and others were picketed in the vicinity under the trees, while the waggons were parked in the yard. The soldiers took possession of the large reception-rooms, and the officers lived in the dining-room. Mr Coote kindly reserved for my use the best bedroom, which, however, notwithstanding the proffered hospitality of the officers, I was unable to occupy more than once or twice.

I well recall my first impressions of Mount Coote. It was almost midsummer. The lake was but half hidden from view by the rich foliage of many trees. Swans gracefully glided upon the water, here and there attracting the eye. Beyond, the rooks had built their nests where the wood was thickest, and a large herd of cattle was browsing upon the green meadow. It was a peaceful, lovely spot, and strangely out of harmony with the daily scenes con-

nected with a military occupation. It was a summer evening, and I was sitting under the spreading branches of some large tree by the lake, my escort of armed men close at hand. How strangely nature seemed to be outraged by man! The trees, the swans, the rooks, the fields, the fattened cattle, all seemed at peace and enjoying the blessings of God, while man alone was fiercely contending. The words of Bishop Heber—

> "Where every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile"—

seemed, indeed, well suited to the time and place.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAW PUT IN FORCE—A LOCAL JUSTICE AND THE MOB—BEHAVIOUR OF PEOPLE—PATROLLING BY TROOPS AND CONSTABULARY — RESTITUTION OF PROPERTIES UNLAWFULLY SEIZED—THE ORDINARY LAW—THE STRENGTH OF ITS ADMINISTRATION RESTS WITH MAGISTRATE—RELATIVE ADMINISTRATION BY JUDGES AND MAGISTRATE—EXAMPLES—BREAKDOWN IN TRIALS BY JURY—DENIS MURPHY'S CASE—NO RENT—EMERGENCY COMMITTEE AND PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION — MR GODDARD — EVICTION — SEIZURE OF CATTLE—MURNANE'S CASE—HIS ADDRESS TO THE PRESS—THE LAW DEFEATED — MURNANE REVISITED WITH MORE SUCCESS — SEIZURES AT BRUREE—COSTLY PRINCIPLES.

THERE was little time for reverie. Loyal men and rebels were both awaiting in anxiety the action it was believed would speedily follow the arrests. The first thing to be done was to bring to justice all those persons who had committed violent crime, and against whom up to date no proceedings had been instituted. Informations were taken against the ringleaders in those serious riots that had

occurred prior to my arrival, and they were duly taken into custody and brought before the court for trial. I had deemed it desirable to apply to Government for the assistance of two other resident magistrates to form the court, for otherwise there would have probably been a miscarriage of justice. One of the local justices, sitting on the occasion, drove up to court amidst the loud cheers of the mob. He had been informed by some of "the patriots" that if he did not attend this particular court he would be dragged to it by the people. I was therefore not surprised when, after hearing the evidence, this gentleman, in a voice audible to "the gallery," proposed to deal with the case as one of simply throwing stones in the streets, an offence carrying with it a fine of a few shillings. During the riot, which consisted of an unprovoked attack by the mob on the police, the officer had his eye almost cut out with a stone, and three of the men were so injured as to oblige them to leave the service.

In the end, five or six of the prisoners were sentenced to four months' imprisonment. I remember the fact, as it was one of the few instances in which, during my career as a magistrate in the south of Ireland, I inflicted any but a nominal punishment. Both going to and returning from court, I was hooted and "booed" at by men behind every door and corner. In fact, at this period, and for some time subsequently, the moment I appeared at my door a general "booing" was set up by those to whom I was visible, and the groans were taken up from one end of the town to the other. It was a discordant noise, but did not hurt me. I really pitied a people, with so many fine traits of character, who seemed to be utterly lost to every sense of decency, for these unseemly exhibitions of ill-feeling were by no means confined to corner-boys. One young man daily made himself remarkable by walking up and down past me, in a very insulting way, whenever I strolled outside, staring at me as he walked,

and spitting when near me. At last I sent and informed him that if he repeated his behaviour towards me, I should deal with him in a manner not to his satisfaction. My conduct in doing so formed the subject of one of the many questions put in the House of Commons to Mr Forster daily regarding my proceedings. In a few days my young friend formed one of the leaders of a riot, on which I caused him to be arrested and committed to prison. When brought before me, at the end of a week, his parents, expressing deep regret for his conduct, promised to send him at once to America, if he was released. I took them at their word, sending a policeman to Cork to see him off, thus relieving her Majesty of one very unruly subject.

A sound system of night-patrolling by the troops was inaugurated, and did much good. Within a certain range of their quarters, the patrolling was carried out without difficulty, the details being arranged with complete

secrecy between the police and military officers. Outlying districts were brought within range by the unexpected despatch of troops after nightfall to distant localities in a couple of army transport waggons, which were left at the nearest police barrack, while the surrounding country was patrolled by the troops, who returned to their station in the waggons when the work was done. This system was very effectual in preventing any raids by "Captain Moonlight," such as were so common at the time in many parts of Ireland. Much attention was also given to the possession of arms, which was not encouraged. Many of the farmers felt themselves aggrieved; but if I bore the responsibility of protecting their lives, and did so effectually, it was reasonable that the means to be employed should be left to my discretion. Arms in the possession of farmers would but have formed an inducement to "Moonlighters" to undertake raids for their acquisition.

Turning my attention to those persons who

had taken and retained forcible possession of their neighbours' lands, I sent for three or four of those concerned in the most aggravated cases. They one and all said they had been put in by "armed men with blackened faces"; and when questioned as to why they remained, they replied that, being there by order of the Land League, they were afraid to turn out. I duly informed them that they were committing a very serious crime by remaining, to say nothing of the original offence; but that bearing in mind the surrounding circumstances, the option was given to them of at once vacating the properties they forcibly held; otherwise that the law would be put in force against them. Their notions of the power of the law were not very exalted, for they all said it was quite impossible for them to move, and that I might do as I liked. They were sent home with the assurance that, if the farms were not given up within twenty-four hours, warrants would issue for their arrest. When the time arrived

and the farms were still held, the warrants were duly issued, and the four or five persons selected as examples were brought before me, and, though their tempers were undergoing an evident change, being still obstinate, they were committed on remand for seven days to the Limerick jail. In the meantime, their wives and friends came to me, begging for mercy to be shown them. It was explained to them that the prisoners had no one to blame but themselves, for I had even gone the length of promising to overlook the crime they had committed if they quietly gave up possession of the houses and lands they had seized. A few words of explanation, when truth and justice are on one's side, are never lost upon the Irish; but there must be unwavering firmness and consistency. When the prisoners came before me again at the end of the week, I requested the police officer to allow their friends to interview them. The result soon showed itself in complete submission, and in an undertaking that the properties should

be vacated within twenty-four hours, if they were released. I consented to this, taking care to impress upon them the moral that although the law might be more tardy (though it should not have been so) than the Land League in its action, in the end it was certain to prove the stronger. In due course, without any further arrests being made, all the properties forcibly seized were handed over to their rightful owners. This was a decided triumph for the law.

It was evident to me that the strength of the ordinary law lay in its administration by the working magistrate, and not by the judge of assize. The magistrate has the power to act with promptitude on the spot when the crime is committed, and in presence of the people having knowledge of the facts. The importance of this cannot be exaggerated. With the exercise of proper vigilance, no serious offence should escape his notice. If any such offence is committed, the immediate arrest of the offender never fails, in my ex-

perience, to bring home to him a proper sense of his inability to defy the law. The necessity of punishment is thus often obviated. The Irish are very discerning. If they see they can trample the law under foot, they will do so with unfeigned pleasure; but when they find that the law is strong, and that it is administered with a determination that it shall be respected, they adapt themselves to the position with ready submission.

Even in quiet times trial by judge and jury is a tardy process. During times of serious disorder in Ireland, it not only broke down owing to common juries declining to convict in agrarian offences, but the certainty that no verdict of guilty would be found, acted as a premium upon crime. With no local district administration to assert the law upon the spot when it was broken, and with the knowledge that a trial some months afterwards was certain to be abortive, it is not surprising that the police became faint-hearted and the mob audacious.

I have indicated in the cases in which other people's land had been seized and held, how it was possible to assert the power of the law magisterially. Let me now show how the law broke down in such times and in similar cases when administered by the high courts of justice. There were but two cases remaining in the district of persons so holding their neighbours' property, and with these I was prevented interfering, as they formed the subject, prior to my arrival, of proceedings before the court of assize. They are both worthy of remark. In one case, in which I cannot recall the names of the parties, A. had seized violently upon the lands of B. As a consequence, A. was summoned to appear before the court of petty sessions, which sat once a fortnight, and when, after many Land League speeches and the use of language insulting to the magistrate and lowering to the law, the offender was returned for trial to the court of assize, he was allowed to remain at large in the meantime upon nominal bail, retaining pos-

session of the property he had seized upon. After some months the trial took place, the offender being of course defended by Land League funds, as was every murderer, cattle-maimer, rioter, and other delinquent ever brought before a court during the dark days of which I write. The jury disagreed, and the offender went home in triumph, to be received by the cheers of the mob, and welcomed by the local band "playing national airs." The trial came on again at the next assizes; but a plea of guilty was accepted, on the condition of no punishment being inflicted—an assurance being given by the defendant that the property would be restored to its rightful owner. No restitution however was made, and the unfortunate owner, when last I heard of him, was still seeking the redress no one was able to give him. The only remedy available to the injured party was to commence fresh proceedings, which were useless, as the defendant kept up a game of hide-and-seek whenever a process-server could be

found willing to attempt any service upon him.

The other case was a very remarkable one. There was on Mr C. Coote's estate, near Kilmallock, a good-for-nothing tenant named Denis Murphy. He was evicted on the 21st June 1880, and the sheriff duly handed over possession of the house and land to Mr Coote's agent, who placed and retained a caretaker in charge until 21st November following. Father Sheehy and the Kilmallock Land League took up the case, and, according to Murphy's statement, he was put back into possession on the night of the 22d June "by an armed body of men." At any rate, on the 23d, Mr Townsend, the agent, on visiting the farm, found the house had been broken into and Murphy again in possession. He informed the agent that he had been "put in by armed men," and replying to Mr Townsend's remark that "it was a strange way to come there," Murphy said "it was as good a way as any other." There he remained till brought to trial before Judge

Barry and a common jury in the town of Limerick on the 14th March 1881. At the close of the evidence (there was no defence naturally), the jury retired, and I quote from the 'Freeman's Journal' the result :—

"After a considerable absence the jury returned into court, when the foreman announced that there was no chance of an agreement.

"*His Lordship.* You say that there is no chance of an agreement, although the prisoner admitted that he had been put forcibly into possession, and that he has retained possession up to this month. Is that so?

"*Foreman.* Yes, my lord.

"*His Lordship.* Well, I can only say that it is another of the discreditable scenes that we have witnessed during these assizes. It is now plain that what has been stated all over Ireland is perfectly true, that trial by jury has become a farce and in the county of Limerick a mockery, and I, as a Limerick man, say with pain, regret, and humiliation, that the parties who come into the jury-box in Limerick are

either perfectly incapable of understanding evidence, or determined while understanding it to violate their oaths and not to act on them. It is for those who have the guidance of the Legislature of the country to consider this state of things."

The judges throughout Ireland made remarks to the same effect; and though the state of the country was daily becoming more grave, and peaceful law-abiding persons—gentlemen, ladies, peasants, soldiers, and policemen—were being assassinated from day to day, it was one year and three months from this date before the jury laws were amended by the Crimes Act.

As to Denis Murphy and the farm, Mr Coote was obliged to take out of the superior courts another ejectment decree. Father Sheehy and the Kilmallock Land League had made the case their own, and had declared that upon this farm "should be fought the battle of the League in the south of Ireland." It was reported throughout the coun-

try that a determined struggle would take place; so when I received notice from the agent that the second eviction was about to be carried out, it became necessary, although Father Sheehy was in confinement, to make very careful preparations for preserving order and guarding against a miscarriage in the execution of the law. Popular feeling was running very high in those localities bordering upon the district. Few of my readers will be unable to recall to mind the expeditions to New Pallas (twenty miles north of Kilmallock), which culminated in the despatch from Dublin of a battalion of her Majesty's Guards, and the onslaughts made upon the troops and police from time to time. At about twenty miles distant to the east was Mitchelstown, in County Cork, where the troops were seriously maltreated during scenes of disorder which lasted for several days.

When the day was fixed for Murphy's second eviction, I took the precaution of sending messengers to all popular leaders within

twenty-five miles, to warn them that any contingents arriving in my district on that day, for the purpose of opposing or intimidating the officers of the law, would be dispersed by the police and the ringleaders arrested.

At about this time (June 1881), although the "No Rent" manifesto had not been published, the general cry throughout the country was to "pay no rent," and practically none had been paid for some time past. Landlords were taking proceedings under very great difficulties for the recovery of rent due, and to aid them in the contest organisations were created, known as the "Emergency Committee" and the "Property Defence Association." These organisations came to the assistance of "boycotted" loyalists, by sending men to work upon their farms, when the Land League prohibited local labourers from doing so. They provided the sheriff with bailiffs, and sent representatives to bid for farms or stock being sold for rent due; for it was found otherwise that, no bids being made, the sale was unable

to take place, and the law was further discredited. They also supplied armed men to hold and protect from injury farms from which persons had been evicted. In fact, had it not been for the work done by these societies, landlords would have suffered much more severely than they did, as it would have been impossible to have executed any order of seizure or eviction for the recovery of rent in the disturbed parts of Ireland.

One of the chief workers in this movement was Mr Goddard, a young Dublin solicitor of great energy and courage. No man in Ireland went through more danger or performed his duty more conscientiously to his employers. He attended sales and evictions in every part of Ireland, and accompanied his agents wherever they were likely to undergo hardships or be in personal danger. Like the little petrel, he was to be found wherever the storm raged most furiously.

After the eviction of Murphy, the owner of the property intended to put "Emergency

men" in possession, and the sheriff also proposed to improve the occasion of his presence in the locality by making seizures of cattle for rent. It was not therefore surprising to find that Mr Goddard and several of his subordinates had arrived in Kilmallock. During the night immediately preceding the operations, detachments of constabulary were sent out to hold various roads by which alone any large contingents of rioters could have arrived. We started at 8 A.M. on the 23d June. The force was made up of a squadron of the Greys, detachments of the 25th, 48th, and 57th Regiments and Transport Corps, which, with about 200 of the Royal Irish Constabulary, made a total of about 500 men. I was very much against such a display of force; but having been but a short time in the locality, I deemed it prudent to be guided by the opinions of others more conversant than I was with the requirements of the occasion. Not the least opposition was met with. In fact, hardly a human being was seen. The sheriff

ejected Murphy, and handed the house and land over to Mr Coote's agent, who installed three "Emergency" men fully armed, and the police officer left a few of his men to protect them, with provisions for several days for the party. Thus collapsed Father Sheehy's threat that this farm "should be the battlefield of the Land League in the south of Ireland." The law was beginning to be respected.

The sheriff then proceeded to the lands of a man named Brown who kept a dairy-farm. About £140 was due for rent and costs; but as he declined to pay, twenty-seven head of fat milch cattle were seized by the bailiffs, and driven off to Kilmallock, where they were put into a truck and sent to Limerick. There was considerable excitement at Limerick on the arrival of the cattle, and as no one was allowed by the Land League to drive them, the men of the Royal Artillery came to the sheriff's assistance, and drove them through the town. Mr Goddard being at the sale next

day, the owner bought them in, paying his full rent and costs, besides about £40 extra for transit dues, &c., &c. The milk of the cows was unsaleable for a month afterwards, I was told, owing to the derangement caused by the animals being driven about the country. Why was all this expense and damage submitted to? Because the Land League had so ordered it.

After the men's dinners, the sheriff again started, protected by a considerable force, for the farm of one Murnane, where a seizure was also to be made for rent due. When we arrived at the farm, which seemed to be one of some value, it was found that there was not a single head of cattle upon it. The stables were empty, and not a bullock or cow was within sight—in fact, everything movable had been taken away. Murnane himself was sitting in a chair in front of his house smoking a pipe, and surrounded by his family and relatives. In anticipation of disturbances a large number of press correspondents accompanied

us, America, as well as the three kingdoms, being well represented. To these gentlemen Murnane held forth. He said that, owing to the hard times and to the cruel oppression of an exacting landlord, he had been obliged to sell his stock from time to time, one by one, in order to pay for food to keep life in his children's bodies. "One by one," he said pathetically, "I have been obliged to sell, until, you see, gentlemen, at this moment I am left helpless and poor, not knowing where to turn to provide for the wants of my children. It is under these circumstances that the landlord comes to sell our last stick, or to turn us into the ditch, because I am unable to pay him his rack-rent. The butcher and the baker had a prior claim to the landlord, and it was my honest duty to satisfy them before meeting the unjust claims of the man who sends the sheriff here to desolate my farm." I do not say that these were the exact words used, but they fairly represent the tenor of the remarks addressed by Murnane to the many reporters

standing round him. We retired, amidst the jeers of the groups of men and women who had collected in the fields. "The law" had been defeated. This was enough to cause great rejoicings on the part of the Land Leaguers, and I need hardly remark that every encouragement they received from such causes was a distinct blow to me in the work of re-establishing the authority of the Government. I expostulated with those responsible for these abortive proceedings, and inwardly determined that they should not recur. The sheriff informed me that it was well known that Murnane had a large stock of cattle, which must have been driven off his lands on the occasion above referred to. It was therefore determined to revisit Murnane's farm in the course of a few days. On the following Saturday, at two o'clock in the morning, we left Kilmallock, with the sheriff and his men on cars, and a force of fifteen men in service-waggons, taking a direction opposite to that in which Murnane lived. When clear

of the town, we broke into a trot, and took the road for Charleville, where Mr Goddard was picked up. The party then went off at a fast pace towards Murnane's farm, about four miles farther distant. I was riding in front, and when day broke, and we were within about a mile of the farm, I saw scouts from various directions running towards it, evidently to warn Murnane of our approach. The teams were made to step out, and on reaching the lands a rush was made from various directions by the sheriff and his bailiffs, Mr Goddard and his men, and the few police we had with us. I saw a general scramble going on in the fields, from which several men were vigorously endeavouring to drive out a large herd. The cattle, however, were all captured. Murnane himself appeared upon the scene; but the only remark he made was, "Begor, ye were too quick for me *this* time!" Horns were now blowing, and the country was rising, so, as very few men were with me, I saw with relief a party of troops and police arriving from Kil-

mallock, in accordance with confidential instructions given the night before. The cattle, under a strong guard with fixed bayonets, were all driven in to the railway station, where there was a display of popular excitement. The trucks were provided, and the cattle about to be put into them, when the owner "under protest" paid up his whole debt and extra costs for the additional work entailed on the sheriff.

We then went off with fresh teams in the waggons to a village called Bruree, on the Limerick and Cork line of railway. Here, again, several large seizures of cattle were made, and the animals escorted to the station, where, however, on the trucks being produced, all rent and costs were at once paid up. The priest addressed the mob which collected, abusing freely the Government, the landlords, and Mr Goddard, and declaring that the people were only fighting for their principles, which, as some one remarked, "were only sustained as far as the railway

trucks." On each occasion when the cattle were redeemed, their heads were decorated with green leaves and ribbons, and they were driven by a yelling crowd through the streets. As may be supposed, this was a long and troublesome day's work, and I was suffering such pain that it was with difficulty I kept the saddle. Similar proceedings frequently went on for four or five days running. It spoke much for the strength of the Land League, when the tenants obeyed instructions costing them such an amount of annoyance and money, without any corresponding gain either to them or to their cause.

CHAPTER VII.

STORY OF PATRICK BERKERY AFTER HIS RETURN HOME — BERKERY BOYCOTTED AND RUINED—VISIT TO KILFINANE—ISSUE OF WARRANTS AGAINST RIOTERS—MILITARY CALLED IN TO AID IN THEIR ARREST—PRISONERS ULTIMATELY DISCHARGED ON RESTORATION OF ORDER IN THE TOWN—VISIT TO CHARLEVILLE — HOOTED AND THREATENED BY THE MOB — ARREST OF RINGLEADERS — ABJECT SUBMISSION OF PRISONERS — LAND LEAGUE COMMITTEE NOT REMOVED AT CHARLEVILLE: HENCE CONTINUED DISORDER—LAND LEAGUE MEETING AT CHARLEVILLE ON THE OCCASION OF MR PARNELL'S ARREST—MEETING PROHIBITED, AND MEASURES TAKEN TO PREVENT IT — PROHIBITION DEFIED BY THE LAND LEAGUE — AVAILABLE FORCE INADEQUATE AND IN GREAT DANGER — RIOT ACT READ AND TROOPS PREPARED TO FIRE — MEETING DISPERSED — PRISONERS RELEASED IN THE EVENING — ADVANTAGE OF CARRYING COPY OF THE RIOT ACT — MULTIFARIOUS DUTIES TO BE PERFORMED — INUNDATED BY TELEGRAMS FROM HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PATRICK BERKERY, the farmer and publican who had been ordered by Father Sheehy and the Land League to give up his land in default of paying a heavy fine, hearing that his persecutors had been removed from power, returned

to his own home. Popular indignation, however, ran very strongly against him, as it was generally supposed that it was owing to statements made by him that Father Sheehy and his colleagues had been arrested. Although there was no foundation for this, his life was, notwithstanding, made a burden to him. He was rigorously boycotted, and not a soul from one end of the week to the other entered his shop. His gates were thrown down and carried away, and his fields commoned, his own cattle being driven away. He went to his chapel after his return as usual; but the feeling against him was made so apparent that he retired before the service was concluded, leaving behind him two men who acted as his farm-labourers. When the congregation came out, these two men were brutally attacked and stoned by the people, not a soul interfering on their behalf. They were pursued by a howling crowd of people for over a mile along the road, and finally reached Berkery's house, cut and bleeding from the wounds

caused by the stones thrown at them. The men were brought in to me in a pitiable state. The pew in which Berkery sat was ripped up, and the woodwork thrown out. I was anxious to avoid, if possible, making him conspicuous by the presence of a resident protection party; but from all I heard, his life became in such danger that I was obliged to quarter in his house a party of five armed constabulary. A hut for the guard had to be got down from the depot in Dublin and erected close to his house. Subsequently, six men of the Guards formed his protection party. He was deeply indebted to these excellent soldiers for their good behaviour; but said that he preferred the constabulary, whom he found less attracted by the charms of the milkmaids than the Grenadiers. I regret to say that Berkery was ruined by the persecution he underwent, and until I left Ireland in September 1883, he was under armed protection. I much doubt whether it has yet been withdrawn.

I had been so occupied with Kilmallock,

that it was some days before I was able to accomplish a visit to Kilfinane, beyond that entailed by the arrest of the Land League committee. When I did so, there were loud complaints as to the disorder that so far had not been checked. There was complete disorganisation. The police had no authority, and both they and the troops were the object of constant attack and insult. There had been several riots, for taking part in which I issued numerous warrants under the ordinary law. As the reinforcements of police had not as yet arrived, and as there were only about eight men in the barracks, the police officer informed me that a serious disturbance would undoubtedly follow the arrest of these persons, to escort whom he had not a sufficient number of men. I sent for Captain Bell, who commanded the detachment of infantry, and requested him to turn out fifty men, and form them into hollow square in the market-place. I explained to him the object. The police were then intrusted with the warrants for

execution, and one by one the prisoners were brought and placed within the square of soldiers. A large crowd had of course collected, and the presence of the troops in the market-place for some unknown purpose attracted the people, thereby relieving the pressure upon the police in other parts of the small town. The sense of the ridiculous was not to be withstood by the mob, as one by one the prisoners were deposited within the ranks of the red-coats for safe keeping. There were shouts of laughter, and cries of "Sure, there's Pat joined the army!" and, "Why, Micky's turned soldier!" When all the prisoners had been brought in, the square moved away with them in the centre to the police barracks. One woman, who evidently knew her friends well, and could not lose the opportunity of expressing her convictions, called out to the prisoners as they marched away, "Och! the poor craythers, they'll never get promotion!" Service-waggons were soon provided, and the

prisoners sent to Limerick jail. I duly notified that the final decision with reference to them entirely depended upon the conduct of the people in the town. It has only to be added that, at the end of a week, after the adoption of certain administrative measures for the general good, the prisoners were discharged on bail, and at the end of a month were released altogether, no punishment being inflicted, as order had been comparatively restored and submission made to the law. This was quite as satisfactory to me as it was to the offenders. The restoration of order, however, entailed constant application, action, and general ubiquity; but as I had the strongest objection to men being in confinement at my instance without trial, as Father Sheehy and the members of the Land League committee were, I endeavoured to as rapidly as possible bring about such an altered condition of affairs as would enable me to recommend the Government to release these prisoners. Of course, much had yet to be

done. By continuity and consistency in action, and by a merciful yet firm administration, evil-doers had yet to learn to fear, and others to respect and confide in the law.

One of the most disgraceful scenes I think I ever witnessed took place on the occasion of my visiting Charleville for the first time, a couple of weeks after Father Sheehy's arrest. I drove over to this town, about five miles distant from Kilmallock, with a small escort of about six men, in order to see and consult with the police and military officers. On leaving the barracks to return to Kilmallock, about sunset, the whole street became thronged with people, who, when I had gone a little distance, surrounded our conveyance, hooting and howling at the pitch of their voices. Turning down a street to the right, I got out of my dogcart, and directed the escort to get off their cars, which we guarded. Respectably dressed men and roughs pressed upon us, still hooting and menacing us. We could, no doubt, have driven off at a trot; but we should certainly have

been stoned, and it would hardly have been a dignified manner of proceeding. I drew my revolver, and having ordered the men to fix their swords, called out that I would shoot the first man who laid a hand upon us or our animals. This had some effect, but we still were followed by hundreds of people threatening us, until we got outside the town. Fortunately some of the police with me knew the place, and noted the ringleaders of the cowardly attack. I took their sworn statements that night, and wrote out fifteen warrants of arrest for riot; and early next morning, taking twenty men in an army service-waggon, returned to Charleville, and caused the persons to be arrested. Strange to say, they were nearly all shopkeepers of the town, the worst of all being a local hotel-keeper. They were, of course, all members of the Land League. The abject submission of these cowardly individuals when brought, under a police escort, face to face with the man whom, the day before, under other circumstances,

they would have trampled under foot, surpassed anything of the kind I ever saw, even in Ireland, before or since. Can any one suggest why one-half of the sons of farmers in Ireland, who have been or are members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, represent a body of men unequalled for their respectability, loyalty, and courage, while a large portion of the other half, during the last five years, have made up the ignoble army of moonlighters, cattle-maimers, and crouching assassins of whom we have all unfortunately heard so much?

The rioters in this case were dealt with under the ordinary law, in the same manner as those previously at Kilmallock and Kilfinane, but with results not quite as satisfactory. The method was not at fault, but at Charleville the Land League committee had not been removed, and continued to foment disorder of every kind. If asked the reason for this omission on my part, I must admit having made a mistake; but the event

conclusively proved to me the soundness of the theories I held on the subject.

Unquestionably the country round Charleville was in a very lamentable state; but I was well satisfied if daily progress was made in restoring order, and if in the meantime there was no loss of life, murder, or moonlighting. From such crimes I am thankful to say my districts remained exempt.

I remember, on the occasion of Mr Parnell's arrest, very serious work taking place in Charleville. It was determined to have a monster meeting to protest against the course the Government had adopted, and to do honour to the "uncrowned King of Ireland," as the placards announced. In order to prevent the possibility of the Government proclaiming the meeting, the intention to hold it was kept a profound secret until the previous Saturday night, when huge green posters were scattered far and wide, calling the meeting for the next day at noon. Intimation of this only reached me at about eight on Sunday morning. Con-

sidering the state of the locality, the inflammatory wording of the placards, and the results likely to ensue, I determined to prohibit the meeting myself, being unable to communicate with the Lord Lieutenant. All the available troops and police were at once put in motion, and I arrived in Charleville in time to warn the leaders of the Land League that the meeting would not be permitted, and as a magistrate I issued a proclamation to that effect. It was determined, however, to defy the order. Fifty men of the 48th were posted in the police barrack at one end of the town, and the detachment of the Royal Scots was confined to its own barracks at the other. All the available constabulary supplied themselves with batons, a small force of six men being armed with each party to guard against emergencies. I always very much objected to see constabulary, while acting against mobs, armed with rifles. Police are thus rendered quite useless, for unless the mob is fired upon and the people shot down (the

necessity for which should never arise), they can render no service. Batons, on the other hand, are constitutional weapons in the hands of a civil force, and can be used with telling effect at the moment upon aggressors, without the risk of doing any serious or permanent injury.

As the appointed hour drew near, large contingents of men, displaying the usual number of seditious banners, and each headed by a band, came marching into the town from various directions. All marched in military order and in step, showing that due attention had been given to preliminary drill. Before entering the town, the contingents were stopped and warned, but to no purpose. Mr Jennings, the most excellent officer of constabulary on special duty with me at Kilmallock, had with a considerable force of police turned back a very powerful contingent of some hundreds of men, and, fearing mischief, he thought it desirable to follow them well away from the scene. The other parties of constabulary were fully occupied in different

places, and the detachment of the 48th was holding the police barrack, which contained the constabulary rifles, and was denuded of every available policeman. In the yard were the transport waggons and horses, requiring the protection also of the troops. It was a well and secretly organised Land League demonstration, in numbers and determination far exceeding anything of the kind I had experienced before. The force we had been able to collect together at such short notice on a Sunday morning was inadequate for its purpose, and Mr Jennings had mistaken my intentions in going so far away. Suddenly several "regiments" of Land Leaguers, headed by their bands, broke into the main street from different quarters. Had they passed in the direction aimed at, Mr Jennings' force would have been taken in rear and cut off from us, so I hastily extended a small party of fifteen constabulary, that happened to be near, across the street. The various contingents, getting packed, soon formed a great

mob, yelling, shouting, drumming, and threatening. They came up to the very breasts of the men where I was standing, and reached backwards in one dense mass of people. A priest was near me, and I spoke to him, but he was powerless. There were cries of "Push through them!" and "Go on!" and it was evident that we were in difficulties; for had the mob "rushed" us, we should have been trampled under foot. There was not a moment to be lost; a messenger was sent to the barrack behind us for the Royal Scots. A party of six constabulary with rifles retired fifty yards, and then faced the people, as if preparing to fire, then stepping forward, I took off my hat, in which the Riot Act printed on a card was always carried, and read it loudly. In the din of noise going on, my voice could not be heard far; but some of the mob, seeing the movement which had been carried out, raised the cry, "He is going to fire!" "Look out for buckshot!" &c. In a moment the dense mass wavered, turned, and fled in help-

less confusion in every direction. In their speed they fell over one another. The big drummers in these routs always fared very badly. The sight of the red-coats coming up prevented a rally, though we were stoned for a few minutes. In due course the town was cleared, I am thankful to say, without any injury being done to any one. Thirty prisoners were taken, and some banners and band instruments were destroyed in the stampede. Parnell remained uncrowned, and the authority of the Government had asserted itself over that of the Land League.

To say nothing of the sedition preached, and violent language used at such meetings when held, they were the source of the greatest danger to those farmers or others who had incurred the displeasure of the League. Living by the roadside in unprotected localities, they naturally found themselves in positions of extreme danger. For the protection of such persons alone it was necessary that these meetings should not be sprung upon

us. By doing so, the Land League sought to deprive the Government of exercising its discretion in prohibiting monster gatherings in much-disturbed localities, and it became therefore essential to defeat such schemes. In the evening I released the prisoners, and sent them home to their friends. People began to recognise that the ordinary law was not so weak as many supposed. We owed our lives, on this occasion, to the fact that it was my habit to carry a "Riot Act" in the lining of my hat. I would suggest to magistrates in Ireland that they may on similar occasions find this a useful custom.

It was in such scenes as these that my life at this time was passed. There was, of course, a considerable amount of office-work to be got through, and I had neither clerk nor secretary. Both Captain Bell of the 48th and Mr Jennings rendered me great and willing assistance. No trouble was too great for them to take on my behalf, and whatever work they undertook could be relied upon as being well

done. The outlying stations and "Emergency" posts had to be constantly visited, the patrolling supervised, the lives of several persons to be watched over, their properties to be protected, the sheriff in his "cattle-lifting" raids to be guarded, and magisterial and executive duty of every kind to be performed, it might be said at all hours of the day and night; but no duty gave me so much trouble as answering questions put in the House of Commons regarding my every movement and action. Sheets upon sheets of telegrams were daily handed to me,—Mr Sexton wishing to know whether "it was true that Mr Clifford LLoyd, &c., &c., &c.?" or "Mr Healy has given notice for this evening to ask whether it is a fact that you, &c., &c., &c.?" The answers were invariably that "it is not true that, &c., &c., &c." But the purpose of putting them had, no doubt, been achieved. Dirt had been thrown at me, and it did not matter much whether it stuck or not. The leaders of the Land League were not particular as to their

weapons. The questions as originally put, in language often disallowed by the Speaker, were sent to and published abroad in the Irish papers. The answers mattered little, so long as the charges were made. As the Government relied upon the strict accuracy in detail of the replies, they naturally entailed various references, and immense waste of valuable time. The most complete answer to all would have been, "Every magistrate acts upon his own responsibility under the powers conferred upon him by the law of the land; if he exceeds or misuses his power, the Court of Queen's Bench is open to every person feeling himself aggrieved." In those days there was no person debarred from his legal remedy by reasons of lack of funds or legal advice, as the Land League placed both at the disposal of even the most red-handed murderers in the country. Had this course, however, been pursued with reference to me, I should have had the opportunity of defending myself, which was the last thing my persecutors would have desired.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEWLY FORMED LAND LEAGUE COMMITTEES AT KILMALLOCK AND KILFINANE — THEIR ACTION NOW HARMLESS — HEAD-QUARTERS TRANSFERRED TO KILFINANE—EXPEDITION WITH THE SHERIFF — HERDS OF CATTLE SEIZED FOR NON-PAYMENT OF RENT — CATTLE DRIVEN TO BALLYLANDERS — HOSTILE MOB COLLECTED TO OPPOSE PASSAGE—RINGING OF CHAPEL BELLS—CONFLICT WITH THE MOB—EXTRAORDINARY SOUNDS EMITTED BY IRISH MOBS — MARCH TOWARDS KILFINANE—VOLLEYS OF STONES FROM THE MOB—CONDUCT OF THE PRIESTS—UNIFORM SUCCESS OF SHERIFF'S OPERATIONS — EXTENSION OF DISTRICT — ARREST OF BALLYLANDERS RIOTERS—SIEGE AND RELIEF OF MASSY LODGE—EXTENSIVE SEIZURES OF CATTLE BY SHERIFF AND PROMPT PAYMENT OF RENTS.

THE meetings of newly created Land League committees at Kilmallock and Kilfinane continued to be held occasionally, but they no longer attempted to usurp the functions of the Government or of the established courts. They reminded me of the snakes in the pocket of an Indian juggler, which, having had their eye-teeth drawn, are perfectly harmless, though

it is sought to make the public believe otherwise. My headquarters were transferred to Kilfinane, whence the sheriff made expeditions to all parts of the country thereabouts, protected as usual by troops and police. We endeavoured from day to day to reduce the force sent out, until in a few weeks we went anywhere within my own district with twenty men—in fact, things became so quiet that I rode about with an escort of only four mounted men. About two miles to the east of Kilfinane my jurisdiction ceased, and I doubt much if any one else's began, for the people were the most lawless of any I had ever to deal with. We made the acquaintance of each other under the following circumstances. One morning very early, before the people were up, I had accompanied the sheriff with ten men of the 48th and ten of the constabulary in army service-waggons. On such expeditions I invariably went myself, for doing so enabled me to see the country, to note the demeanour of the people, and the progress made in pacifica-

tion. The sight of the troops did good, and with troops out on such duty a magistrate is essential. Even when the protecting party consisted of police alone, I accompanied it, for fear of any mishap which would have thrown us back in the work in hand. On this occasion we went two or three miles out of my district, on the Tipperary road, where the sheriff seized several herds of cattle for non-payment of rent. The convoy was very large and the escort very small, so it was proposed to drive the cattle to the town of Ballylanders, which was about three miles in another direction, nearer than Kilfinane, and there to pound and sell them. I knew little about the locality, beyond the fact that it was very disturbed; but as it was then mid-day, and as men and horses were tired, having been out since 4 A.M., I consented. We took a road leading towards the Galtees, intending to proceed to Ballylanders. Men in every direction were soon seen on the move, and the chapel bells were "calling the faithful" to riot. Horns echoed among the

hills on our right, and it soon became evident that "the country was up." Hostile gatherings collected in the fields on each side of us, and altogether "the situation was becoming interesting," as Sir Evelyn Baring used to say in Egypt when complications thickened. Not liking the look of affairs, we halted between the high banks of a deep cutting, over which the cattle could not have been driven had we been attacked, and sent a mounted man on to Ballylanders, about a mile distant, to reconnoitre. He returned in about fifteen minutes with the intelligence that a warm reception was awaiting us. The chapel bell there was being loudly rung, and men were hastening in from the adjoining country. The square for which we had to make was packed with people, he said, who already numbered many hundreds, and evidently intended to attack us. It would not do to retire, and it would have been dangerous to proceed, so I sent two mounted men back for all the available constabulary at Kilfinane. There was not sufficient transport to

bring any soldiers, and it would have been very late had we waited for them to march. The chapel bells went on ringing, we were hooted by mobs from a safe distance, and when in about two hours the ten additional men arrived from Kilfinane in a long Government waggonette, the situation, though perhaps "interesting," could not have looked more ominous. We were all tired of waiting, so the thirty men being directed to fix their swords and bayonets, the cavalcade was set in motion: I rode ahead with my personal escort of four faithful mounted men; then came the cattle, driven by the sheriff and the "Emergency" men, flanked by about twenty soldiers and police; then followed Mr Townsend, the agent, and the service-waggons (into which I always put any prisoners taken) guarded by the remaining ten policemen. Instructions were given that in case of attack fifteen of the police were at once to put their rifles in the waggon and act as might be ordered with batons; the rest of the police and the soldiers were to protect the

sheriff, the agent, the waggon and horses. The chapel bells were still ringing, and we could hear the hum of many voices in the distance. At a turn of the road we came in sight of the village, about a quarter of a mile distant, into the square of which the road led direct. The square was one mass of men, seemingly well packed. A small skirmish occurred at the turn of the road, a futile attempt being made to stampede the cattle. While the cavalcade was approaching, the people maintained a perfect silence; but the moment it reached the edge of the square the wildest uproar was raised. Yells, curses, and insults were intermingled with one long-continued "boo." An Irish mob can certainly emit the most extraordinary sounds, the like of which I have never heard in any part of the world. There is, for instance, a "Yah, yah, yah!" to be compared to no other earthly sound, which I have heard in the House of Commons as well as during scenes such as I am here describing. Those who have heard

these savage cries from fifteen Irishmen in the society of gentlemen can imagine what they would sound like when representing the combined chest-power of fifteen hundred of their fellow-men in their own element. I faced the mob with the escort, who with drawn swords got the crowd back, so as to admit of the column passing; but seeing the danger of the situation, and the impossibility of halting in the village, I turned it sharp to the right into a road leading out of the square over the mountains to Kilfinane. Every minute to me seemed a long one as our five horses faced the gesticulating, howling, and threatening mob, while the cattle, sheriff, policemen, soldiers, and waggons filed past behind us. Before the mob realised the nature of the movement we were executing, the whole cavalcade was out of the square. Our horses could not walk backwards or they should have done so, for I anticipated mischief when we ceased to face the mob. No sooner had we turned round to cover the rear of our party than a volley of

large stones flew past us, falling upon the men and waggons now in front of me. A nasty sort of slate cut the air with great force within an inch of my ear, which would certainly have been cut off had it struck me. The men all soon knew what to do, and took but a few seconds doing it. Ten men of the 48th extended across the road in rear of the waggons, blocking it, and bringing their fixed bayonets to the charge, while fifteen of the constabulary, putting their rifles into the waggons, charged the mob, and in five minutes effectually cleared the square. I was fortunately in time to save one man's life when an infuriated constable was on the point of running him through the body with his fixed sword. Whose fault would it have been had the man been killed? Mine, or that of the priests who allowed their chapel bells to be put to such an unholy purpose, and encouraged the people to such wanton acts of rebellion against the law and the constituted authority in the land? There were three priests in the square, eyewitnesses of the whole

of this scene? What were they there for? Was it to control the fury of the mob, or to dissuade the people from the contemplated violence? Certainly not. The priests were there to encourage them up to the moment when we might turn to defend ourselves and retaliate upon our aggressors, when their custom was to step in and preach moderation *to us*, and then write to the press, to the Government, and to their representatives in Parliament regarding the "brutal and unprovoked onslaught" of her Majesty's servants upon the "poor peaceable people"!

After this somewhat tumultuous scene, we resumed our march, and passed on into the mountainous country we had to traverse before reaching Kilfinane. Having proceeded about two miles, and being all tired, we came to a halt at a convenient spot. Before long, a party of seven or eight men was seen approaching. On reaching us, one of them announced himself as the treasurer or secretary of the local Land League, and, ad-

dressing the sheriff, said he thought some terms might be come to. The sheriff very properly replied that the only terms on which the cattle could be given up were payment in full of all rent due and costs up to the moment; but that under any circumstances he would deal only with the owners or their lawful representatives, and not with any one on the part of the Land League. In the end I need not say that every penny was paid, and we reached Kilfinane late at night, every one very much wearied. I protected the sheriff in the collection of many thousands of pounds due for rent during the last half of the year 1881, and never but in one instance, in which everything had been removed from the farm, did he fail to recover the full amount due, together with costs, which averaged about 25 per cent of the debt. In many cases the costs much exceeded this figure.

The Government now added to my district the whole of the tract of country extending

from Kilfinane to the county of Tipperary on one side, and to the Galtee Mountains on the other. The peasantry are fine able men, but in these days were wild to an extraordinary degree. They had been led away like their neighbours by the Land League, and not being under much supervision, became very daring in their lawlessness. Whenever we appeared on the confines of their beautiful valley, we were hooted from every field and hamlet, and the chapel bells for miles round gave warning to the people, who could not tell whether the sheriff was with us or not. I suppose, however, those having access to the bells thought it advisable under any circumstances to put the country far and wide on the alert. Once the bells began to ring, we could see for miles round the cattle being driven off the owners' lands; for it was well known that as a rule the sheriff only seized thereon, the risk being great of otherwise making mistakes, which entailed trouble and litigation.

The leaders of the Ballylanders riot were of

course arrested and dealt with under the ordinary law as in other cases; but some time elapsed before this newly acquired district was got into a state approaching order. I was accused of instituting a "reign of terror," because warrants were issued, still under the ordinary law, for the arrest of all the principal promoters of disorder, most of whom, to avoid arrest, absconded and left the country. As it seemed to me desirable that they should have the opportunity of taking this course if they wished to do so, the police were instructed to make no secret of the names of those persons for whose arrest they held warrants, and to give them the opportunity of absconding, if it was likely to be taken advantage of. The constabulary had very difficult duties to perform in this wild locality; a night patrol was even fired upon, and the men met with insult and attack on all occasions offering any chance to the people for indulging in such pastimes. The assertion of the law, however, aided by constant super-

vision, did not fail to produce a palpably good effect.

In the neighbourhood of the Galtees, notwithstanding the examples made in the adjoining parishes, the people were still defiant, resolute, and lawless. At the foot of the mountains, near the village of Anglesborough, is a very charmingly situated shooting-box, known by the name of Massy Lodge, the property of Lord Massy. Early on the 12th of August 1881, Mr Townsend, the nephew of Mr W. Townsend, the agent, with two officers of the 48th, left Kilfinane, to shoot grouse on the moors. Intending to remain the night, they put up their horse and trap at Massy Lodge, which is twelve or fourteen miles from Kilfinane and six or eight from Mitchelstown, over the mountains. After shooting all day and making a very good bag, they returned to the Lodge to dine and sleep, intending to start back to Kilfinane the next morning early. In the middle of the night, however, they were roused by shouts

and yells outside the house, and on going to the window, saw a mob of people below hooting and threatening them. The gentlemen got their guns, and said they would fire if any attempt was made to enter the house. After "dancing a war dance," the people apparently dispersed; but next morning, on going outside, the gentlemen found the harness cut up into small pieces and laid upon the doorstep. The mob, on trying to force the door of the stables, fortunately frightened the horse, which, breaking loose, dashed out into the woods and thus saved its life. On the 13th, as the sportsmen did not return, we began to get anxious about them. On the 14th, about noon, I received a cipher telegram from Mitchelstown, which had been so badly transmitted that it was almost unintelligible. We, however, after much trouble, managed to interpret two or three words, which were sufficient to lead us to suppose that the telegram was from the sportsmen, who were evidently in serious difficulties. Taking Captain

Bell and thirty men of the 48th, with thirty of the Royal Irish Constabulary, in three service-waggons, we were soon on the road to their relief. Until we had entered the valley lying between Ballylanders and the mountains, we met with no opposition. When about six miles from our destination, however, the chapel bells began as usual to ring, and the people to collect in groups hooting us. Not knowing how urgently relief might be necessary, we pushed on at a good trot, but were brought to a provoking standstill by a stone wall built right across the road. The men had to get down and clear a passage, which took a little time. A mile further on was another wall of the same kind, and within a quarter of a mile of the Lodge gate was yet another, of larger dimensions and built of much bigger stones. On turning into the gate, we found the avenue blocked by trees cut down, and placed, some across the road, and some with the branches outwards. With the assistance of the several teams of waggon-horses,

these were soon dragged away and the road cleared. The besieged party was uncommonly glad to see us arriving, being very doubtful if the message sent had ever reached me. It was late when we got back to Kilfinane, as we found all the walls rebuilt to bar our road, and as it got dark, we did not know what further pitfalls might be laid for us. All this was "constitutional agitation"! We had to pass through the town of Ballylanders on our return march, and the altered bearing of the people was remarkable. We were quite unmolested.

No rent had yet been paid in this out-of-the-way part of the country. The sheriff had made several raids, but the distances were so great that it was found that but little work could be got through in the day. It was therefore determined to organise an expedition for the protection of the sheriff in collecting the large arrears due, and to remain out for a week, or as long as might be necessary for the purpose. Our intention was, of

course, kept a secret. At about two o'clock, one dark September morning, we started from Kilfinane. The expedition consisted of sixty men of the 48th, under Captain Bell, sixty men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, thirty horses, and six army service-waggons, carrying the bedding, food, and necessaries for the week, the sub-sheriff, with about ten subordinates, Mr Townsend the agent, and my personal escort. Had we gone by Ballylanders our passing would have become known, and bells and horns would have roused the country long before our destination was reached. It was therefore necessary to make a considerable detour of some sixteen miles, going into the county Cork to within a couple of miles of Mitchelstown, and then turning back by a sort of pass through the Galtees, from which we emerged at about daylight. The farms upon which the sheriff intended to make seizures extended along the foot of the mountains on the Limerick side. We saw but two men astir, and they were together. On per-

ceiving us, they made off as quickly as they could run to give the alarm, but were speedily overtaken, and prevented carrying out their design. The cattle, in herds of from twenty to thirty, could be seen browsing on the various farms, but there was no other sign of life. Leaving the horses and noisy waggons behind us, we marched along a road running parallel with the base of the hills, the sheriff entering upon the lands of successive farms, and going through the form of seizing herd after herd. In charge of each he placed a bailiff, to protect whom we left a small mixed force of constabulary and soldiers. When some eight herds had thus been seized, word was quietly passed along the line to close on the centre. The village of Anglesborough formed the centre, and in it was soon concentrated the whole of our force (including the waggons and horses) guarding the sheriff, who had in his possession about 200 head of prime cattle. This portion of the day's work was completed before the people became aware of what had happened.

As may be supposed, when the farmers awoke and found that they had been out-manœuvred, they were very wrathful. A large and threatening crowd assembled, and there was some attempt at disorder; but it was seen that the force was overpowering, and that there was nothing to do but to accept the situation. Within half an hour all the farmers whose cattle had been seized had paid up their rent and costs in full, and were sullenly driving their cattle home. More work had, however, to be done before breakfast; so sending half the force to make things comfortable at Massy Lodge, where we intended to take up our quarters, we proceeded with the other to a farm a couple of miles farther on. On reaching it, the cattle could be seen half a mile away, being driven up the side of the mountain by several men. The sheriff gave chase; but as I could see the cattle against the sky-line disappearing over the mountain-top, and as the men were unable to follow over such rough country, he returned to the farmhouse.

He said he would seize the man's furniture, &c., if it was possible to carry it away in an army service-waggon. I informed him he should have every facility from me in carrying out the law, so a waggon was brought into the yard and backed against the hall-door. The bailiffs at once commenced loading it with everything found in the house. Tables, boxes, teapots, kettles, and every variety of article were indiscriminately packed on the waggon. The farmer became furious. He walked up and down in a passion, roundly abusing the sheriff. The man particularly wanted one of his boxes not to be distrained, as in it, he urged, were his clothes, "of no use to any one but himself." The sheriff, however, was obdurate. The farmer at last, in a fresh outburst of rage, called to the sheriff, stamping his foot and saying, "I'll pay." He still, notwithstanding, asked for the box to be taken off the waggon and put back in the house. The sheriff would not consent. At last the farmer got up on the waggon, opened

the box, and, amidst general loud laughter, produced a roll of bank-notes from the bottom of the trunk, and handed over to the sheriff the £56 he owed in rent, with costs to the amount of about £17. We remained for six days at Massy Lodge, keeping ourselves in communication with the rest of the district by a line of post-cars we established with Kilfinane. Day after day the same work went on, until by the end of the week I should think the agent had recovered through the sheriff about as much money as he could well carry. In one instance only did he fail to realise, and in this case the owner of the farm had flitted, taking with him his goods, flocks and herds, wife and family. No one seemed to know where he had gone to. After each day's work was over we dined, and then sat out in front of the lodge, where the men lit a huge bonfire, and around which they amused themselves by singing songs, &c., always finishing up each night's performance with "God save the Queen," sung by the whole strength

of the company! The strains of the National Anthem echoed each night from hill to hill, and must have been heard for miles across the valley. At sunset all proper precautions were taken, pickets and sentries being posted. On the day we returned to Kilfinane my attention on the march was attracted by the fact of the column halting. I saw Mr Townsend, with some police, crossing a field to a farmhouse, with a large sheet of paper in his hand, which he was flourishing about. On the agent rejoining the column, I inquired from him his object, and he informed me that the man had a little while ago paid his rent secretly, but had begged that one day—when the troops and police were passing—the form of serving him with a writ might be gone through, in order to save him from the wrath of the Land League. And this was "constitutional agitation"!

CHAPTER IX.

RESTORATION OF ORDER IN DISTRICT — RELEASE OF FATHER SHEEHY AND SUSPECTS—REASONS FOR RELEASE—RETURN OF FATHER SHEEHY TO KILMALLOCK — SERIOUS RIOT—TREACHERY IN THE POST-OFFICE—DEPARTURE OF FATHER SHEEHY—HIS SPEECH AT KILMALLOCK—REASONS FOR HIS DEPARTURE.

TOWARDS the end of September, considering that the power of the law had been sufficiently established to enable me to retain the reins of power, it seemed to me desirable that I should at once recommend the Government to release Father Sheehy and the rest of the "suspects" from Kilmallock and Kilfinane. I hope it will be remarked that the Government had only exercised the powers given to it under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act to a limited degree in my district. A hostile and upstart government had been found in power. It was evident that in other parts

of Ireland, where a similar usurpation of authority had taken place, murders and other terrible outrages had become almost daily incidents. In the language of "patriots," "the light was being spread." I have given my reasons for believing that isolated arrests under the Act were a mistake, and I have endeavoured to explain the grounds on which I considered that the arrest of those leading members of the League, who had formed themselves into this hostile government, was a necessity if order was to be restored. It must be remembered that the only means at our disposal for restoring it were the provisions of the ordinary law and the exercise of administrative authority. Although there had been a determined strike against the payment of rent, yet in my district, by the end of September, little, if any, was outstanding. If any rent had remained uncollected, it was not owing to the inability of the tenants to pay, or to any shortcomings on the part of the Government in granting every

facility to owners of property to carry out the provisions of the law. In my original district order had been completely restored. Violent crime—such as murder, moonlighting, malicious injury, or maiming dumb animals—had been prevented by unceasing devotion to duty on the part of the constabulary and troops, working under difficulties never to be appreciated except by those who witnessed the labour and toil they underwent by night and day. It has been said that the Government acted weakly. I am here recording my own experiences, and I should display a want of gratitude if I failed to acknowledge the unswerving support given by the Government to me in those dark days. I can only say that whatever I asked for was granted, whatever advice I required was given, whatever help was needed was at once despatched to me. Beyond this, I was defended in the House of Commons by Mr Forster against attacks well known to members, with a loyalty and courage not to be surpassed.

Towards the end of September 1881, I felt myself in a position to recommend the release of the suspects, and they were accordingly discharged from prison. Mr Forster had the most serious doubts as to the advisability of the step I urged. Violent crime was on the increase throughout Ireland, the Government was being hard pressed upon all sides, and the pacification of the country looked somewhat hopeless. The arrest of the leaders of the movement was being forced upon the consideration of the Government, and at such a moment I can well understand the doubts which crossed the minds of those in supreme power as to the suitability of the proposition I made. Lord Cowper and Mr Forster both treated me with every confidence, and I was in constant private as well as official communication with them. I had the greatest objection to relying upon the Act, under which persons were arrested and detained without trial, as the sole means of preserving or restoring order. There was a marked

tendency on the part of the police and magistrates to do so. The police were inclined to consider, where crime was committed or a district was in a lawless condition, and two or three suspected or notoriously disorderly persons were arrested and lodged in jail under the Act, that the necessities of the case had been met, and that nothing more was to be done. On the other hand, I regarded the Act mainly as a powerful and summary means of displacing those who, in the name of a revolutionary body, had usurped power and were exercising authority pertaining to the Queen's Government alone. The movement had gone so far, and the strength and organisation of the League were so great, that the ordinary law was unequal to the task of transferring the reins of government to hands lawfully entitled to hold them. But enforcing the Act was only a necessary preliminary to this end. Having removed the hostile power in occupation, I seized the reins myself, and relied upon the provisions of the ordinary law to enable me

to retain them. Having displaced the Land League committees at Kilmallock and Kilfinane, I lost no opportunity of asserting its power, with the result that order and confidence were restored. Having achieved this result, it would have been a most unjustifiable confession of weakness to have retained in prison without trial persons who, I felt convinced, would be powerless for evil if released. The very efforts to create disturbance and resume their old ways they were likely to make on returning, would but prove to them and to the people that the law was not so weak or faulty as many supposed it to be, while the futility of their attempts would but strengthen my position in the eyes of those over whom I was placed. I therefore did not hesitate to write to Mr Forster, more fully explaining my views, and urging him to act on the recommendation I made and release the prisoners. In the state of Ireland at the time he had ample grounds for doubting the expediency of the step, especially when re-

membering the fact that Father Sheehy was a priest, and a man of the most extreme aspirations and violence of character. The release of the "suspects" was, however, ordered.

We naturally looked forward to some display of popular feeling on their return; and as Father Sheehy proposed paying one or two visits on his way down from Dublin, arrangements had been made with the police to duly notify to me the hour of his expected arrival at Kilmallock. Owing to the fault of some police officer this was not done, and the consequence was some disorder. I did not arrive in Kilmallock for some hours after Father Sheehy. He had in the meantime addressed a mob in the streets, using language even exceeding in violence that which was to be expected from him. As this speech will serve to give an insight into this Christian gentleman's character, I quote it as reported in the 'Cork Examiner' of the 30th September. The responsibility attaching to the arrest of

a priest was very great, and was felt so by all concerned; but if any reader of this record has not been already convinced of the necessity of it under the circumstances detailed, some idea may be formed of the course of conduct pursued by Father Sheehy, which led to his arrest in May, from a consideration of his own language and behaviour on the very first day of his return to Kilmallock in the September following. There were police upon the streets when he addressed the mob. He drew attention to their presence very much as he had on a previous occasion drawn the notice of a mob to the presence of two officers, who were at once attacked, and who nearly lost their lives in consequence. He called the police in their own hearing "drunken peelers," "battalioned blackguards," "mongrel whelps and curs of low degree." He deliberately incited the people to attack them, and they were attacked, a serious riot being the consequence, several of the men being struck with stones. The police were repeatedly stoned

during the afternoon and night, it being past midnight before order was restored.

The Government addressed me the next day regarding these proceedings; for I had, in recommending Father Sheehy's release, distinctly pledged myself to preserve order. In these days we had many traitors in the camp, especially in the post-office department. This was not to be wondered at, considering the class of persons upon whom the Government had to rely to fill the office of postmaster throughout the country. In my experience, if a telegram was sent not in cipher, its contents were known to the Land League almost as soon as they were known to the person to whom it was addressed. I therefore telegraphed to Mr Forster, "If Father Sheehy behaves again as he did yesterday, he shall be arrested and dealt with under the ordinary law." Father Sheehy left immediately for Cork, and went thence to America. It was over a year before he returned to Kilmallock. Subjoined is the reverend gentleman's speech

on the occasion of his arrival in that town after his release from prison :—

"The Rev. Father Sheehy, C.C., in replying to those addresses, was received with loud and continued cheering. He said, 'Gentlemen of the Kilmallock branch of the Irish National Land League, I accept this, your address, as a renewal of old and strong associations, and as a pledge of renewed friendship and renewed affection. (Cheers.) Gentlemen of the Board of Guardians, I also accept with much pleasure your address at the same time, to expedite the work of speaking, all the more necessary since I am not quite so strong physically as I used to be when I had the happiness of addressing you both from the platform and from the pulpit some months ago. But while I confess diminution of my physical strength, I am sure it will be a pleasure for you to learn from me at the same time that there is no diminution of any feeling of my heart, or of any faculty of my mind. (Great cheering.) Those feelings

are just what they were five months ago. No change whatsoever for the better, I fear. (Laughter.) No change for the worse, I hope. I am then, taking me all round, pretty much the same as when I was separated away from you on the 20th May last. I now come back to you——'

"*A Voice.* 'You are welcome.' (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

"*Father Sheehy.* 'I have a wealth of feeling towards you which no amount of words, no matter how tender or how strong, would be adequate to express. I feel that this Kilmallock and my humble name are identified in the national mind by associations so tender, and by ties so strong, that no matter what the separation may be, no matter how great the distance, no matter how long the time, I am now and always will be "Father Sheehy of Kilmallock." (Great cheering.) It may seem wise that I should be placed to perform my functions as a priest in some other parish of this diocese—("God forbid!")—if my wise,

kindly, and parental bishop desires, I am his faithful subject, and I obey most willingly. (Applause.) I owe my bishop, and I give him most unqualifiedly and in the largest manner, the loyalty of an ecclesiastical subject; but wherever it may be my duty under his direction to minister and to work as a subject of the diocese of Limerick, my heart will ever be in Kilmallock. (Loud cheers.) I have come here with the fullest conviction that in the minds of people here, and according to the feelings of the people, I was coming "home." (Enthusiastic applause.) I consider that I should be carrying with me a burden of feeling if I did not discharge it somehow, and these few poor weak words give a medium of expression, and now I part with that branch of the subject.

"'Now, my first and my highest duty, and I feel that here I am now about discharging a duty to myself in the first place, as a priest well known to you, to protest indignantly against the outrage perpetrated

in the name of the law—accursed be such laws, I say (cheers)—in the name of order, which was here *bouleversed* by a man who pretended that he symbolised order—in the name of a thing called justice, I protest against my forcible removal from my duties here: I protest indignantly, and I declare most defiantly, in my challenge to them, now that I am released, to declare the reason, the real reason, of my arrest. (Cheers.) As one whose sacred ministry requires that I should preach the divine and the moral law, I protest indignantly against the thought or suspicion that I have violated any just law in the whole course of my public ministry. (Cheers.) I set myself in opposition to the thing called law, realising the character and the attributes with which I clothe God's rule upon earth. God is law; and everything, as it diverges from our ideas of the divine attributes of justice, of mercy, and of goodness, departs from the type, becomes a mockery, and, as in our case here, a tyranny. (Cheers.) English law does not

reflect the moral law: that, as I understand it, reflects the guidance of this world and its government under Divine Providence. The English providence and the Divine Providence are antitheses the one of the other. Law, then, as it was enacted in Ireland, as it was trampled on in Kilmallock, as it was outraged in the person of Clifford LLoyd—(great groaning)—as it was scandalised by drunken peelers, as it was trampled upon by those battalioned blackguards that were brought here in the name of civilisation to protect the lives and liberties of the Irish people — (groans) — I protest against this foul travesty and treachery perpetrated upon that divine manifestation of God's will to this world—namely, the guiding, governing, salutary, merciful, fostering thing called law. (Cheers.) I was arrested in the name of justice. I protest against this, the travesty of justice, as it was enacted here five months ago, in my own arrest in the first place, and in the arrest of my friends, your fathers and brothers, your friends and

neighbours, whom you have known from your cradles, and always respected as the most righteous of your citizens. (Cheers.) I protest against their and my incarceration, because, forsooth, the world was made to believe through the medium of falsehood, concocted and perfected as the Royal Irish Constabulary know how to concoct falsehood. I protest, I repeat, against my arrest, because, forsooth, the statement was made that order was impossible so long as Father Sheehy, Stephen Barry Walsh, Henry J. Gilberson, John Slattery, Michael M'Carthy, Thomas O'Donnell, and last, but not least, James W. Joyce, were at large. Have I not here the people of Kilmallock as witnesses, if witnesses were needed — honest, righteous, Christian witnesses — on our behalf, as evidence against the abominable association known as the Royal Irish Government, acting through its constabulary in this country? The object, the real object, the set purpose of that travesty of the beautiful human form, Clifford

LLoyd—(groans)—that witness, that living witness on this earth of how ugly and how bad a soul dwelt within the body of that worst and cruelest of all the English kings, known as hunchback Richard. In body and in soul you, Richard, walk this earth again, as if you had an impish pleasure in it, in the person of Clifford LLoyd. No longer is he of Kilmallock, for he has been removed to Kilfinane, a wayside village. He can air his garden there. When I learned of his being chased from this ancient and patriotic town, I asked myself the question, What influences have been at work to drive him from that once peaceful neighbourhood? Well, in my estimate of the influences at work, I gave the first place to the women of Kilmallock. (Loud cheers.) When all the ladies in a community are against one, the surroundings are very unpleasant. But there were higher and more politic reasons. Governmental policy was at work to take him from your midst. Kilmallock focussed the thoughts for a time

after our arrest, and during the presence of this man—this travesty of a man—during all that time, I say, Kilmallock focussed the thoughts of all the thinking people in these countries. Journalists came from England here, and the pen-pictures of Kilmallock's social life, and of this particular gentleman (Mr Clifford LLoyd), forced the Government to remove him into a locality that was not so well known to the outside world. And it is because of this that he still hangs on the horizon like a black cloud. (Groans.) Clouds usually carry electricity, and I don't know how much thunder and lightning is represented at present in the acts and words of Mr Clifford LLoyd. The man is in Kilfinane also, perhaps, for a third reason, and I don't know that I would be considered egotistical if I were to express my suspicion that he was removed in view of my return home here. (A voice, "He dreaded you." Loud cheers.) The man did say, with all the boast and bluster of an English bully, that either he

should, forsooth, return north of the Boyne, where his antics have become curious historic legends, or else that I should retire somewhere. Well, for the time being I retired somewhere; but I am back here again, and he is elsewhere. (Applause.) One of the drawbacks to the pleasure of my return, one calculated to chill, if anything could chill, my feelings to-day, was to learn that Clifford LLoyd was not here before me. I have given you only a rude sketch of Mr Clifford LLoyd; but I did intend to go more into detail, if this man were here, and present a more faithful picture of him in character, in soul, and in body, and I would ask the gentlemen representing the Press here to-day to say how far the picture was wide of the mark. (Cheers.) Have I said too much about this Clifford LLoyd? ("No, no," and loud cheers.) I have always found people looking into menageries and such places for curiosities of the animal kingdom. (Laughter.) Once in the Jardin des Plantes I found an enlightened and in-

telligent people, as the Parisians are, divided in interest between a grimacing monkey and a laughing hyena. (Laughter.) I have perhaps dwelt somewhat too long in discussing this typical monstrosity, a faithful sample of the thing which he represents in Ireland—British law and British justice.' (Groans.)

"Here the reverend speaker observed, apparently for the first time, that a number of policemen were not far off, and listening very carefully to his remarks. The crowd seeing them too, hooted heartily. Father Sheehy continued: 'I see here—(a voice, "LLoyd's pets,")—yes, some of Clifford LLoyd's pups, his "mongrel whelps and curs of low degree," here within earshot expecting that I would lavish my intentions upon them. But I shall disappoint them; they don't rise to the level of my contempt. They are on the horizon; they seem to have grown dim within the last five months. What has come over the spirit of their dreams? Where are the batons that Clifford LLoyd would employ to

test the soundness of the skulls of the people of Kilmallock? Having exhausted his own strength and his own spite in beating the people over the shoulders at this corner, and thus parting with even the semblance of dignity which should clothe the magistrate and a gentleman, where now are all those heroes of the buckshot and the bayonet? Why, it would look as if indeed the ladies of Kilmallock linked with the manhood of Kilmallock have moistened the powder and extracted the cartridge, and by their perseverance and fortitude and virtue they had paralysed the efforts of those battalioned scoundrels, and deprived them of the pleasure of testing the hardness of the people's heads with batons, and neutralised their hopes of limiting the dinner of the people to buckshot. (Loud cheers.)

"'People of Kilmallock, when leaving you, I expressed my wish, and it was my legacy to you, that you would guard and keep up your spirit and govern it well, and guide yourselves, so that you would disappoint those who aimed

at the destruction of your lives, as they had already destroyed your liberties. (Cheers.) You have accepted that advice; you have realised the triumphs of fortitude over crime; you have shown the world that you are a Christian people, and told the world who are the real criminals. It does not look that they are now in for the Nero, or the law, or the justice, which was in their expectation if they only gave us a dose of prison life. We came out as we went in—their foes—as we are the foes of crime. We came out as we went in, making no truce whatever, because you can at no time make a truce with a man who is ready, when it is favourable to his projects, to cut your throats, you can't have truce or terms with them, because they represent the landlords, and you cannot have a truce or terms with that robber class. (Cheers.) You cannot; and we will not have any terms with them, because they represent England, and we will never have truce nor compromise with England. (Cheers.) But is not this Land

Act a bridge across the bloody chasm? Does not that settle the difference between us? ("No, no.") The Land Act completes the trouble; it renders the confusion worse confounded. The Land Act, instead of leaving you at the mercy of one robber, who would be content with his rent, and would take it out of your waistcoat-pocket if he found it there, transfers you to another class of robber—the lawyer—who would not be content with your waistcoat-pocket, even though filled with your notes, but would go through all your pockets, because the lawyer's greed is insatiable; and if your pecuniary resources would not satisfy him, they would go at your chattels. Is it not true that the lawyers would do that? Surely no one who has read anything about it, who has read that tremendous satire on it, as told by that consummate artist, Charles Dickens, in his story of 'Little Dorrit'; there is none who does not recognise that words fail to express how terrible a conspiracy against property and against the peace of

the country is the Chancery Court. Oh, my friends, beware of the Land Act, for it is a lawyers' Act. You have the landlord on the one hand, and the lawyer on the other—one getting his picking from your waistcoat-pocket, and the other picking all your pockets. Beware of them! We are all reading Mr Gladstone's Land Act. Poor Mr Gladstone!—poor old philanthropic, smiling, hollow, hypocrite! the greatest offender against the liberties of our country that has appeared within the century! Poor Mr Gladstone! represented in Ireland by Buckshot Forster and Mr Clifford LLoyd! (Groans.) He has given you this Land Act, and if you take it, beware that it is not a poisoned draught. Mr Parnell, and he ought to know, distrusts this Act. Well, we share that distrust. At best I fear the Greeks, even when they are bearing presents. (Cheers.) I remember the story of Laocoon, and how the walls of Troy were captured, and the ruin of that historic city accomplished. Are we to be conquered by

Gladstone and Clifford LLoyd? ("No, no.") If you are willing to be conquered by them, go back to your slavery and hug your chains. Mr Gladstone will be talked about and trumpeted as a boon-distributer. Did he not give us a Land Act ten years ago? Did not he disestablish the Church? So they tell us. But he really gave us neither one nor the other. His own poor pretext is that somebody ringing the bells arrested his attention, and he thought something should be done to stop the bell-ringers. A decade of years elapsed before he next did anything for this country, and the Land League have been his bell-ringers now. So he gives us the Land Act now. We will keep ringing the bells, as we found in that our way to his kind attention and sense of justice. We will keep ringing the bells, as we have come to his sense of justice and fair-play, and as he derives so much inspiration from the sound of Irish bells. We want much more than the Land Act. The Land Act tries to make a

partnership in the soil between the landlord and tenant; but the object of the Land League is to make such a partnership impossible. (Cheers.) "Down with landlordism!" is our cry, and the land will be ours if we are only true to ourselves. Our platform is now about to be widened, and every agricultural labourer in Ireland must come upon it. (Cheers.) The land shall be for the people, not for any class of the people. The Land Act has disappointed the farmers, and it has left the labourers utterly out in the cold. It is a Permissive Bill for them. We are determined to bind our Irish people in one great national body.' (Cheers.)

"The reverend gentleman furthermore recommended that the people should never go into the new Land Courts without the sanction of the Land League. They had placed faith in the Land League, and they had not been disappointed hitherto. They should place faith in it still, and not mind the bids and reckonings of those who would draw them

into the courts hurriedly. It would be the duty of the Land League to pare down the rents wherever possible, and to remember in paying their rents that the measure of a reduction was calculated by the wants of the labourers as well as their own, and where they had been allowed 25 per cent before, they should demand a reduction of 50 per cent now. As to the scheme for utilising waste lands, he said it was right they should be reclaimed, but that the labourers of the country should not be compelled to spend their lives among swamps, while there was fertile grazing-land which could be given to them for cultivation. In conclusion, the reverend gentleman reminded them that next year would be held the centenary of the Irish National Declaration of Independence, and he hoped that they would by their organisation and exertions make the occasion a great one. (Prolonged cheering.)"

I have quoted this speech at some length, as the reader by it will be able to gain some

insight into the reverend gentleman's character. He found that considerable change had taken place in the condition of affairs locally since the day on which he had been arrested. The Land League was powerless, its courts no longer sat, and even the decrees of the central body in Dublin were inoperative ; rents were being collected, the law was being administered, property and life were secure. The ecclesiastical authorities had deprived him for the time of his curacy. In a word, peace and order reigned at Kilmallock, which therefore was no place for one of his vain and turbulent nature. Catholic Irishmen had shown that they would not hesitate to lay hands even upon a Catholic priest if he should so far forget his calling as to play the part of the common disturber of the peace and street-rioter. So Father Sheehy left.

CHAPTER X.

IRISH DISORDER DUE TO WEAK ADMINISTRATION, NOT TO DEFECTS IN THE LAW — RESIGNATION OF LORD COWPER AND MR FORSTER — CRIMES ACT OF 1882 — SERVICES OF RESIDENT MAGISTRATES — MODIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM — HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION ACT — GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE SITUATION — OBJECTS OF THE LAND LEAGUE — FARMERS HOLD ALOOF FROM THE LEAGUE — EXTENSION OF DISTRICT TO BRUFF — EXAMPLE OF DEFECTIVE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION — CONFERENCE WITH CHIEF SECRETARY — MR FORSTER'S SCHEME — APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL RESIDENT MAGISTRATES — MEASURES ADOPTED BY SPECIAL MAGISTRATES — SYSTEM OF PROTECTION TO INDIVIDUALS — SYSTEM OF PATROL — EMPLOYMENT OF TROOPS ON PROTECTION DUTY — ENERGY OF THE LAND LEAGUE — ITS MERCILESS CRUELTY.

I HAVE never entertained the least doubt that the ordinary law of the land is amply sufficient in its strength for the purpose of maintaining order even in Ireland, though I am not prepared to urge that under all conceivable conditions its provisions would suffice for the purpose of restoring order. My faith, how-

ever, in the efficiency of the ordinary law is almost unbounded. It is not the imperfection of the law, but its spasmodic and weak administration that has produced the present condition of social anarchy in Ireland. Had the law been enforced from the beginning of 1881, many a life would have been saved, and the British nation would have been spared one of the greatest blots that has stained its history. The opportunity was lost, and we are witnesses to the sequel. If Ireland were quieted to-morrow, we cannot expect that the triumphant maintenance of disorder over law for six years, the demoralising doctrines taught for so lengthened a period with impunity, and the shocking callousness with which blood has been spilt at the very doors of the people, will be readily forgotten, or will not produce deplorable results in the future.

Again, in the autumn of 1881 it was acknowledged on all sides that special legislation in the form of a criminal enactment was necessary for the restoration of order; but the

Government introduced no such bill into Parliament. When Mr Forster, whose premature death is ever so deeply felt by his friends, took office as Chief Secretary, he relied upon his own honest character and the justice of his views relating to Ireland to enable him to meet the storm so rapidly developing; but in the autumn of 1881 no one realised the situation more clearly than he did, or the fact that the people were out of hand, and that nothing could restore the authority of the Government short of special power being accorded to it by Parliament. There are grounds for believing that Mr Forster failed to convince his colleagues of the necessity, though it is also contended that he omitted to demand them with a decision of purpose commensurate to his convictions. Whichever view of that matter was correct, Lord Cowper and Mr Forster faced the situation, and recognising the weak point in the system of government they were working, undertook with energy the task of applying a remedy. In the

face of much opposition of a nature difficult to contend against, and from persons to whose opinions they were bound to pay deference, a radical change was carried out, implying nothing short of a complete decentralisation of the government, which, in the short space of a few months, produced the most beneficial results. Here was another golden opportunity. Continuity of policy for six months, even longer, would have given law the victory over disorder; but most unfortunately, at this critical juncture Mr Forster and Lord Cowper left office, and the Irish people most concerned assumed, rightly or wrongly, that a policy of strong government was about to give place to one of conciliation. The word conciliation, it need hardly be stated, is not interpreted in Ireland as it is in England. In Ireland, at the time, it was concluded that the Government was weary of the fight, and as it had been useless to further contend against the Land League, the officers of the Crown were to be "thrown overboard,"

and the people were going to have everything their own way. In fact, the people believed that the Land League had triumphed, and that the Government was beaten. These were very dangerous notions to take possession of the minds of the people. If the Irish are treated with strength, firmness, and justice in government, there is no people more easy to rule; but, on the other hand, there is no people who will more readily take extreme advantage of the smallest display of weakness. As has been often said by those qualified to speak, "an Irishman is a dangerous person to turn your back upon." I do not say that there was to have been any change combining a weaker administration of the law with any newly devised general policy; but it was quite sufficient that the people believed that Mr Forster's resignation meant a popular victory. This opinion was tersely expressed at the time by three ploughmen, who called out to me from a field near Limerick, "You've had your day, now we're going to have ours."

The bloodshed of the next few months (May, June, and July 1881) was the result.

The Crimes Act of 1882 naturally threw a certain amount of additional judicial duty upon the resident magistrates. Under its provisions the court of summary jurisdiction for the trial of specified offences consisted of two resident magistrates, one of whom was to be an officer of whose legal knowledge the Lord Lieutenant was satisfied. A certain number of magistrates of experience was accordingly selected in each civil division, the presence of one of these being necessary upon any court of summary jurisdiction sitting for the trial of an offence under the Act. The practical working of the Act in such matters was simple. Upon the special magistrate receiving a report from the police authorities showing that an offence had been committed under the Act, if the offender were known, and the case ready for trial, the police were instructed to place themselves, if thought necessary, in communication with the Crown

solicitor for the county, with the view of proceedings being instituted in the proper tribunal. On a day being fixed for the hearing, one of the resident magistrates selected by the Lord Lieutenant as possessing legal knowledge received a request from the special to attend at the place and day named, for the purpose of forming a court under the Crimes Act. He received no other communication on the subject from the Executive. The second magistrate was generally the magistrate of the district, or if circumstances prevented his sitting, a resident magistrate from another locality was directed to attend. It should be clearly understood that no communication of any sort or kind passed between the executive Government or its representative and the magistrates forming the court with reference to the case to be brought before it. Under the old system, during the seven years I was a working magistrate, in both quiet and troubled times, I never received, nor heard of any other magistrate receiving, any sort of

communication from the Government regarding a case before me, or to come before me, for trial. Subsequently, under the special system of decentralisation, any communications the Lord Lieutenant desired to make to resident magistrates were transmitted through the special under whom, as executive officers, they were serving; and I can state positively that no such communication, nor any emanating from the special himself, ever had reference directly or indirectly to any matter before them in their judicial capacity, in which they were as free and untrammelled to decide upon the merits as any judge of the superior courts. That it could possibly have been or ever be otherwise, is to cast an unworthy imputation both upon the great men who have ruled in Ireland as well as upon the less exalted but not less conscientious gentlemen holding the honourable office of resident magistrate in that country. It has often been said, by certain Irish members of Parliament, that the people have no confi-

dence in the resident magistrates. This, as I have elsewhere observed, is quite a misrepresentation, and is indeed contrary to fact. It is one of the highest tributes paid to these officers that their presence at petty sessions courts is hailed with delight by the innocent, as well as by the litigants in civil cases; for they have established a reputation for administering the law with impartiality, integrity, and justice. Over and over again they are begged even by the friends of the accused to attend at particular courts, and in my time I received many anonymous letters making similar requests. When they are accused of incapacity, and are criticised in no generous or even fair spirit, one cannot but recall to mind the nature of the duty they have been called upon to perform during the past six years. Invested with unusual responsibilities, called upon to perform arduous and often most harassing work, sometimes exposed to great personal danger (I am here alluding to the resident magistrates and not

to the specials, who had adequate means of protecting themselves), while the League, with the intelligence and funds it commanded, was ever ready to find a flaw and to expose any shortcoming in their doings, and the Government was not always remarkable for the support extended to its servants, —these officers have, notwithstanding, acquitted themselves, as a body, with such marked capacity, that those who would now condemn them have of necessity to avail themselves of the power of general declamation, in the absence of any facts whereby the reputation of these gentlemen could be injured or the public confidence in their ability shaken. No one conversant with all that has taken place during the last seven years in Ireland will deny that the manner in which the resident magistrates undertook and performed the extraordinary duties cast upon them in 1881, immediately after the formation throughout the provinces of the "Vigilance Committees," "Invincibles," and other branch organisations

for the perpetration of murder and other violent crime, points them out as men worthy of public gratitude, and should exempt them from the sneers of those who well know the value of the service rendered at the time to the Government of the day and to the nation at large.

The system I have attempted to describe as established in 1881, and continued in 1882 and 1883, has been during later years modified. Its fundamental principle was the responsibility of the official magistrate for the peace of his district, coupled with the supervising power of the special over all that related to criminal administration and the preservation of life, property, and public order. This responsibility vested in the magistrate has disappeared, and it is difficult to say with whom it now rests. The special is now called "the divisional magistrate"; he has no control over the resident magistrates in their executive capacity as before, and is in fact nothing but an officer placed in control of the

police arrangements in certain counties, though having no status by law in the force. These officers cannot be justly held responsible for the preservation of order in their counties. No minister could preserve order in a country, except by extreme measures, if deprived of the power to direct the magistrates. What is true in reference to a minister is equally true regarding one in the position of a special or divisional magistrate in Ireland. For the Government to keep order through the police alone, is, and has been proved to be, impracticable. The powerful assistance furnished by the position, authority, and prestige of the resident magistrate in his own district is set aside, and this officer's primary duty has again resolved itself into attending a few petty sessions courts each month. If required to perform any executive duty, he receives his orders from Dublin Castle, as before 1881. I believe that, if the system introduced in that year had been retained, if the responsibility of the resident magistrate for the peace

of his district had not been removed from his attributes, and if the delegated powers with which the specials were invested over these officers in their civil divisions had not been re-absorbed by the Castle, there would have been no necessity for again passing a Crimes Act. I object to what is properly called coercion. One of my first acts when appointed a special at the end of 1881 was (when possible) to proceed by degrees to obtain the release of the "suspects" imprisoned under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and when Mr Forster resigned office in May 1882, not one remained in detention from the county of Limerick. I go further than this, as already stated, and believe that if the system of government in Ireland in such matters as are herein referred to was not so lamentably faulty as it is, there would in time be no occasion for exceptional criminal legislation. Ireland will never be ruled either by police officers without power or position, and therefore without influence, or by judges presiding

either in the superior or petty courts; and still less by a centralised executive in Dublin, unrepresented in the provinces. The views I urge are strictly constitutional. A magistrate's commission enjoins him to preserve the peace, and legislation has armed him with certain powers to enable him to do so. It is of course hopeless in Ireland to expect local justices to come forward; but in not utilising the resident magistrates for the purpose, I think one of the gravest errors is committed. Though I believe that the ordinary law, if properly administered, with a sound executive system to support it, is adequate to maintain order in any part of the United Kingdom, yet, as is proved by existing circumstances, it is by no means always powerful enough to restore it. The absence of such an executive system fully accounts for the periodical outbursts of disorder in Ireland, and for the frequent application by Governments to Parliament to strengthen their hands. It cannot be said that there exists any grievance felt by

the Irish people at this moment to justify or even excuse the lamentable condition of the country.

The passing of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act offered another opportunity to the Government for striking a severe blow, but it was also lost. It will be remembered that the bill became law during the early months of 1881, and, dreading its provisions, many of those persons who had taken a leading part in local disorder in counties left the country. It was some time before the Act was put into force, and even then the Irish Government was so bound by promises exacted in the House of Commons, and by political considerations, that its administration became barren of the results expected. Isolated arrests were at first made from among the followers and not the leaders of the revolution, resulting in the places of those arrested being at once filled up under orders from the central body. Prisoners under the Act had special accommodation set apart for them and superior fare provided. A dis-

tinguished officer in Ireland remarked, when questioned by a Lord Lieutenant as to his views regarding this "Coercion" Act, "The only coercion, sir, I notice is, that people accustomed to live on potatoes and milk are forced to eat salmon with wine." The jail at Kilmainham was known throughout Ireland as the "Kilmainham Club." Mr Forster and Lord Cowper administered this Act with the most scrupulous justice, though a great opportunity was lost by not striking at once at the leaders of the Land League. With time the Act lost its terrors. It certainly had a very injurious effect upon the constabulary as a police force, no exertions being made to detect criminals, it being thought quite sufficient to "suspect" them.

Of the local justices the upper classes had as a rule been forced to leave the country, and many of those justices remaining in the country, either from being dependent in their trades upon the goodwill of the people or from other causes, were unable to act with

impartiality. Many resident or stipendiary magistrates considered that, as the Government, in spite of full warning, permitted the seeds of revolution to be sown, it should not have been surprised at the natural result. It was for the Government, they contended, to give such directions as seemed desirable for the purpose of restoring peace and order to the country, and it was for them (the resident magistrates) to execute the instructions so issued. I remember one resident magistrate saying to me, "Well, I am a married man, living quietly in the country with my wife and children, and drawing very little pay for the performance of my legitimate work, which I do. It is all very well for you, coming down to a district for a time, assuming responsibilities for which the Government may at any moment throw you over, and for which in the end they will not even thank you; and as a consequence walking about here with ten armed policemen always behind you: I am not going to do it. The Government, by

permitting these Land League meetings and teachings throughout the country, have permitted the creation of disorder, which they must know better how to stop than I or you do. I am prepared to obey any instructions they give me, but not to take upon myself their own responsibilities." From his own point of view my friend was logical and right, but I will not forestall events by showing here how responsibilities forced themselves upon me in the positions in which I found myself. I have always the satisfaction of knowing that though I was made notorious by the abuse and calumny heaped upon me, I was at least enabled by the help of God to protect the lives of those persons who belonged to the class doomed to extermination, for no landlord or agent was either murdered or injured within my jurisdiction. This of itself is great reward.

I have heard Mr Forster on more than one occasion say that in his Irish experience he found no greater enemy to order than law.

It can never be said that the judges of the land during the terrible events of 1881 and 1882 did not nobly do their duty and fearlessly expound the law. They administered it, so far as opportunities arose for doing so, with firmness, courage, and mercy. But I cannot help thinking that those whose duty it was to legally advise the Crown in Ireland might have risen more to the occasion. Had a weaker man than Mr Forster been in power, we could hardly have escaped without a bloody revolution.

I had now been one whole year employed upon particular duty, and in daily contact with the well-organised and powerful elements of revolution with which the Government was contending. During this period my work had brought me into the closest relations with the officers and men of the constabulary, the resident magistrates, the local justices, the troops, the priests, the people, and the Government. I had seen, read, and heard all that could be urged with

reference to the wrongs under which the people were said by some to be suffering, and was in a position to note the practical bearing and effect of legislation passed in favour of the agricultural population, as well as of measures taken for strengthening the power of the Executive in Ireland. The reflections forced upon one's mind at the time naturally took several distinct channels, which may be noted as follows :—

1. The objects of the Land League.
2. The extent to which the farmers could be relied upon in support of these objects.
3. The suitability of the means employed by the Government in Ireland for the exercise of its authority and the maintenance or restoration of order.

I venture to remark that there is no person who, being an expert upon the subject, can be found to believe that the object of the Land League was other than the independence of Ireland, or, in the words of Mr Parnell, to enable Ireland "to take her place among

the nations of the world," by "clearing from the country the usurpation which has long had its heel upon our necks." "None of us," said the same gentleman in a speech at Cincinnati, "whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." But how was the Land League to bring about this result? The answer is to be found in Mr Parnell's own words. In the same speech he tells his Irish-American audience that it is his confident opinion that the Irish landlord system would be killed, and "when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of Irish misrule. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment." Pages could be filled with quotations of a like nature, from his own speeches and from

those of his subordinates. He who runs can read, and the most convincing proofs are at hand for all who desire to form an opinion. The movement of 1867 clearly showed, however, that the farmers in Ireland could not be relied upon to join in any movement having for its direct object the overthrow of the British Government, and it was evident that without their co-operation this end was hopeless. It was therefore sought to enlist their active sympathies by promising them their lands rent free, as the result of "pulling out the corner-stone," and destroying the landlord system in Ireland. Having succeeded in accomplishing this, Mr Parnell trusted to the forces at his disposal in Ireland and America "to destroy the last link" binding the two countries. The object of the Land League, of Mr Parnell and his followers, was and is as plain as the English language can make it.

If there was one thing more remarkable than another in the character of Mr Parnell,

it was his far-seeing knowledge of the people over whom he set himself to rule. He knew well that the farmers would not join him in any attempt by force to overthrow the Government. He had, in attempting to carry out his ultimate object, to reckon with the numerous elements of which the population of Ireland is composed. The Protestants of the north would be against him, and those of the south would not be with him. The merchants, traders, and professional classes, representing the commerce, wealth, and educated intelligence of the country, would be all opposed to him, and could not be bought over to his side. There remained the farmers, whom he hoped in part to bribe and in part to terrify into joining his cause. The "constitutional agitation" was launched, and owing to the apathy, blindness, or mistaken views of the Government, the Land League established itself in nearly every part of the country. It soon, however, became apparent that the farmers, while readily accepting all the

benefits resulting to themselves from the movement, could not be induced to take any active part in the proceedings necessary to keep it alive. They could not be relied upon to subscribe to its funds, to act upon its branch committees, to obey its injunctions, or even to attend its outdoor meetings. It is a well-known fact, and one the Land League leaders have frequently lamented, that the contributions from the farmers in Ireland have been of a most discouraging quantity. As I have said, they seldom were to be found serving upon local committees, the members of which were generally men of Fenian sentiments, being traders in country towns who looked forward to increased custom thereby, or broken-down ne'er-do-wells aspiring to a position and means of living.

It was a comparatively easy task to protect the lives of landlords and agents, for it may be said that few were not in danger; but it was one of much greater difficulty to stand between the farmer and the

doom to which he was consigned for a breach of the law of the Land League. One of the greatest crimes a tenant could commit was to pay his rent. His position was an awkward one. He was threatened by the landlord on the one hand with legal proceedings, entailing possibly ruin to himself and his family, if he did not pay; while on the other, if he did, and it became known, his fate was sealed.

To return to my narrative. In the middle of November 1881 the adjoining district of Bruff was added to my jurisdiction, which thus became a very extensive and onerous charge. I was therefore gratified on learning that an old brother officer in India, of much magisterial experience, Colonel Evanson, had been sent to assist me.

My views with reference to the system of centralised government in full force at this time in Ireland have been already stated. It was a system most unsuited to a country in which popular movements of a revolu-

tionary character were to be looked for from time to time. During the quietest periods the system was unsound in principle, and consequently utterly broke down during times of disorder, when subjected naturally to some extraordinary strains. It is right that an example of this faulty system should here be recorded, for it made such an impression upon me that I was induced to urge the Government to apply some remedy. The remedy adopted, I believe, saved hundreds of lives, and was the means whereby order was finally restored throughout Ireland. On taking over the Bruff district, I found it very short of police, owing to the amount of patrolling, protection, and general duty to be performed. The Land League was master of the situation, and as a consequence the lives of several persons were in imminent danger, and much disorder prevailed. It was hopeless to ask the Government for more men, as there were none to send me, the condition of the country generally being very serious.

As my own district was quiet, I collected some forty constabulary and transferred them to Bruff, where their presence was so urgently required. These men on entering the district were passed by a large contingent of the force leaving it. The officer in charge explained that the movement was in consequence of orders received the day before from the Inspector-General in Dublin to send the men for eviction duty in Kerry. No reference whatever had been made to me on the subject. Could anything have occurred to point out more clearly the fatal defects in a system of administration under which the various departments concentrated in the Castle were thus in ignorance of the state of affairs in country districts, and unaware of the measures which might be at any moment called for by local emergencies? In this instance, for example, I might have been relying upon the very posts, thus denuded of men, to meet contingencies about to arise. The officer and men thus moved might have

been reckoned upon by me that very day for duty involving momentous results. But, as I explained in the beginning of this book, resident magistrates having no executive control in a district, it was the habit to reduce the numbers of men at their disposal according to general requirements without consulting them. Here was a district in a disordered state handed over to me to be restored to peace. Neither the persons nor properties of well-disposed people being safe within it, I was in the act of drafting in a large party of constabulary to aid in the heavy duty to be performed, while at the same moment the Inspector-General, without even consulting me, was removing the police from the district for extraneous purposes! I of course took upon myself to counter-order the departure of the men; but the circumstance was one of the many that made a great impression upon my mind, as showing that although the Government was engaged in an almost life-and-death struggle with the elements of

strife, crime, and revolution, yet its powers were dissipated by the use of methods in administration not only faulty in principle and unsound in theory, but absolutely dangerous in practice to the community at large.

At this time Ireland was in a state to baffle description. The "inner circles" of the Land League were being formed throughout the south and west; landlords were being "shot down like partridge in September," to use the language of one of the chief members of the League; the "No Rent" manifesto had gone forth from within the walls of Kilmainham, while the troops and police were coming into daily violent contact with the people, who had been directed by eminent leaders to pay the landlords no rent for their farms, and if in consequence the law was put in motion against them, to defend their homesteads with their rifles against those coming to eject them. The Government on its side had in Ireland 30,000 soldiers and a force of 12,000 constabulary, as well as seventy-two official or resident

magistrates, each inherently possessing immense powers under the ordinary law for the maintenance of order. In Dublin not only the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, but every head of a department, every secretary and clerk, was slaving his life away in laborious and anxious work both day and night for the public good, in the effort to stem the tide of crime and disorder deluging the country, but all with no result. Lord Cowper and Mr Forster were doing all they could, all that any living men could do with the means they found at hand, and with the system of government they had found existing on taking office. Yet, how was it possible in Dublin to recognise the ever-varying requirements of the various disturbed localities, in which prompt and intelligent action on the part of an officer in a position of authority was essential in order to grapple with situations changing from day to day and even from hour to hour? In the fact that no such officer existed, that there was no person

in country districts armed with executive power over the forces of the Crown, and responsible for the maintenance of order, is alone to be found the reason to account for the apparent failure on the part of the Government to make any impression on the force it was contending with. The police were harassed to the last degree. Being employed continually in marching, countermarching, and in large bodies dealing with riots and protecting sheriffs and bailiffs, their legitimate work had become quite neglected. They procured little or no information, and murders were of frequent occurrence, while it can hardly be said that any serious effort was being made in detecting criminals. This was one of the most marked evil results of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The police considered their duty done when, on a crime being committed, a person was reported as being "reasonably suspected" of the offence. In all truth, it was not the fault of the police, for officers and men were worn out with the

duty they were called upon to perform, and the insults and treatment they received with impunity from the people in carrying it out.

It was in the beginning of December 1881 that the Chief Secretary sent for me to Dublin, to consider what remedy could be devised for the serious defects which were patent in the system referred to. I went to Dublin and stayed with Mr Forster for three days, during which he drew up a scheme for the decentralisation of the powers of the Government, and which was almost immediately put into force. To explain this in a few words, it may be said that Ireland was to be divided into five provinces or civil divisions, over each of which a commissioner was to be placed, invested with full executive powers over all the forces of the Crown—magistrates, troops, and police. The generals of divisions were desired to carry out the wishes of the commissioners in all matters relating to the troops, so far as it was possible to do so within the limits of the "Queen's Regulations." In each

province was to be a certain number of districts in charge of resident magistrates, who were to be responsible for the executive administration to the commissioner, who in turn was to be responsible for good order to the Lord Lieutenant. With the commissioner was to rest the administration of the law (from an executive point of view) and all the Crown solicitors of counties were to be placed in communication with this officer. This scheme did not lack the elements of progressive responsibility, which in any country that has to be ruled must form the very foundation on which success rests. It was comprehensive, and, without any sudden distortion of the official machine, gave a reasonable prospect of getting all the wheels to work to their utmost capacity for the common object. It was opposed by at least one of the law officers of the Crown in Dublin as a complete method of "putting the government of Ireland into commission." So far as it went, this was precisely the result desired, so the objection did

not carry much weight. The Hon. T. O. Plunkett, Mr H. A. Blake, now Governor of the Bahamas,[1] and myself, were selected by the Government to fill three of the commissionerships, while the other two were to be offered to officers of distinction out of Ireland. Owing to the objections raised by the Crown lawyers, the title of commissioner had to be dropped, and that of "special resident magistrate" fixed upon in lieu thereof. This was a misleading and faulty designation; but there were constitutional reasons for adopting it, to which it is unnecessary here to refer. Two other resident magistrates, Captains Butler and Slacke, were appointed to the vacant posts, and we all entered upon our duties at the end of the year, full of determination to do our best to assist in bringing about a better state of affairs, and of hope in the soundness of the improved method of administration we were about to take part in applying. Few men ever entered office under more

[1] Now Sir H. A. Blake, Governor of Jamaica.

dark and dispiriting circumstances, and none, I will venture to say, more fully and calmly realising the immense responsibilities they were undertaking. We, however, felt confidence in the generous nature of the men under whom we were immediately serving, and knew that we were not likely to be misjudged either by them or by the public, if we did our best, although, under the extraordinary circumstances, the results we looked for might not be achieved.

Towards the end of December 1881 we entered upon our new duties. Having appointed my brother-in-law, Captain F. Beauclerk, R.E., my private secretary, we proceeded to Limerick, where our headquarters were to be established. I at once placed myself in communication with the lieutenants and magistrates of counties, the resident magistrates, constabulary, and military officers. It took but a short time to convince me that the lives of landlords, agents, and peasants who ran counter to the rules of the League were

in the most imminent danger, and that there were not sufficient police available wherewith to protect them, and also to meet the various and numerous other calls made upon the men. It was equally clear, moreover, that immediate measures were necessary for restoring peace throughout the country and enabling the law to be carried out, as well as for preventing the depredations committed by armed parties traversing the country by night. Detachments of troops were sent out to Newcastle and New Pallas in the county of Limerick, and to Malbay, Ennistymon, Clare Castle near Ennis, Scariff, and Broadford in the county of Clare, while at the same time the garrison in the town of Limerick was increased by the wing of a regiment. Orders were issued to the police to afford adequate personal protection to every person for whose safety there were any grounds for apprehension. The protection party was to consist of from four to six men, and the person protected was never to be lost sight

of. If he proceeded from his own house in a carriage or car, a party of police was to follow on another vehicle at about twenty yards' distance. The most binding rules were issued upon this subject, and it is entirely owing to the manner in which the officers of constabulary saw them carried out to the letter that I have the satisfaction of recording, that, notwithstanding the deplorable loss of life that took place in Ireland, from first to last no landlord or agent within my jurisdiction was killed or even attacked. Many of those persons protected at first offered great opposition to these measures; but they were informed that the responsibility of preserving their lives could not be undertaken by the Government unless they on their part put themselves entirely into my hands. In some few cases the police were accommodated in the houses of the persons protected; but in the vast majority of cases ready-made huts were brought down from Dublin in pieces and erected in the immediate vicinity. My mind

was to a certain extent eased by the feeling that for the moment everything possible had been done to preserve life. Many persons complained that they had not the means of providing a separate horse and car for the police, so the county inspectors were authorised to purchase at public expense a sufficient number of cars and horses for the purpose. Police drivers were also provided.

On consulting the county inspectors, with the object of drawing up a scheme for adequately patrolling the country, by night especially, it appeared that so many men of the constabulary were on protection duty that a sufficient number was not available for this equally important purpose. It was useless asking that more police should be sent from Dublin, for there were none at the depot. The country was going from bad to worse, and there was not a day to be lost in grappling with the situation. It struck me that the only way of surmounting this serious difficulty was to protect the landlords and

others with soldiers, so that the police thus set free might be employed on other duty. I consulted the officers commanding regiments in Limerick on the subject, and they expressed themselves as ready at once to fall in with my views. The duty was of a kind likely to have a bad effect upon the discipline of young soldiers no doubt, and the temptations to slackness generally would be very great. It was therefore necessary that only those men of the highest characters should be selected for it. Commanding officers of regiments do not like parting with their best men, and I was therefore very grateful for the public spirit and evident desire to assist me which animated them on this the first occasion on which I was obliged to appeal to them. I wrote to Mr Forster the same evening, explaining my scheme, and saying that if I did not hear from him by 3 P.M. next day, his assent would be assumed and action taken. Next morning, however, it seemed to me desirable that Sir Thomas Steele, the Commander of

the Forces in Ireland, should be seen on the subject, as the proposed step was a novel one to take, soldiers never before having been used for the purpose; besides which, there were various details to be considered and settled. It was consequently arranged by telegram that I should go up and see Sir Thomas Steele at the Royal Hospital that evening. By 7 P.M. Sir Thomas Steele, with his adjutant-general, General Harman, were in close consultation with me on the subject. I found these officers ready to do anything they could to help us. We spent an hour and a half together considering the proposition in all its bearings, and it was finally arranged that the best men the army in Ireland could produce should be selected for the purpose, and that, as the duty was of an extraordinary nature, entailing continual night and day work upon the men, they should receive extra civil pay at the rate of 2s. a-day. Orders were sent to the officers commanding the Grenadier Guards and Scots Guards in Dublin

to send down to Limerick an officer and fifty men from each battalion, to be placed at my disposal. I required many more than this number; but had 300 been asked for at once, a reference to London might have been considered necessary, with the result that the whole project would have fallen through. As it was, I believe it was considered that a grave constitutional question had been created; but it was too late to undo what we had already done. As a matter of fact, within six months I had about 700 soldiers thus doing duty throughout the west of Ireland. Having completed these arrangements, I went and saw Mr Forster, who was much pleased with the result achieved, and I returned to Limerick by the train next morning.

General Torrens commanded the troops in the counties assigned to my control. I look back with great pleasure to the friendly relations that always existed between us, and to the never-failing and ready assistance he invariably gave me. When an object has

been gained, people are apt to forget the efforts of those who assisted in gaining it. It is difficult for the outside public to fully realise how easy it would have been to create friction in the circumstances under which we were placed at the time in reference to the troops serving within our jurisdiction; and it is equally hard to appreciate the immense advantages accruing to the public service from having three such officers as Sir Thomas Steele, General Torrens, and General Harman holding the positions they did in Ireland at the time. Personally, I am under obligations to them not to be forgotten.

On arrival in Limerick, I sent fifty men of the Grenadiers under Captain C. Fortescue to one county, and fifty men of the Scots Guards under Lieutenant F. Romilly to the other. So far as the limited number of soldiers as yet available permitted, the police protecting individuals were relieved, and sent to general duty. One constable, however, was left with every party of soldiers, in order to support

the constitutional theory that the troops could only be used in support of the civil power, represented in these cases by the one constable. As instances of cases in which military protection was thus given, the following may be mentioned. An attempt, to a certain extent successful, had been made to blow up the house of a Mr Lloyd Apjohn, J.P., at New Pallas, Co. Limerick. A non-commissioned officer and six men of the Guards with a constable of constabulary were sent for his protection. A Mr Bentley, J.P., living at Broadford, Co. Clare, was in much danger, as shown by the fact that his dining-room windows had been fired into, the bullet lodging in the wainscoting. A corporal and three men with a constable were sent to guard him. Colonel O'Callaghan's house, near Tulla, Co. Clare, was in a state of siege, the windows and doors being barricaded with tables, mattresses, and other furniture. He was in great danger, and would have been shot on opportunity offering. As such cases were numerous,

the hundred men were soon fully employed. In the meantime, rules had been drawn up regulating a system of police, military, and joint patrols. Shortly explained, it may be said that the police patrols at night took the form of ambushes. Three men went out together, often on a car, so as to avoid being watched, and secreting themselves behind a wall or hedge in some bad locality, thus awaited the moonlighters. The houses of persons in danger were also thus watched at night. In this manner much good work was done, and many farmers' lives were saved. From every detachment a military patrol marched at night at uncertain hours through the country, within a circle of six or eight miles, three times a-week. This gave immense confidence to the farmers, and kept bad characters indoors. In Clare, however, especially, there were immense distances (as much as twenty miles here and there) between stations. It was impossible to protect those persons living in the intervening country

without posts and men to fill them. I therefore decided to build huts every three miles, and to occupy them with police and soldiers jointly. Application was made for more soldiers, and two hundred additional men of various regiments were sent to me, all good men except in one instance, in which every man of the particular regiment arrived at his destination in a state showing appreciation of Irish whisky. Huts came down from Dublin as quickly as they could be sent; but we were met with a new and serious difficulty in our efforts to procure ground on which to erect them. The people were ordered by the Land League to refuse to grant to the Government permission to erect huts upon their lands, on payment or otherwise. Wherever we found ourselves in difficulties owing to such objections, the huts were erected either on the grass by the side of the road or on the green triangle of turf often found where a road forks. Into each hut as it was completed were put six soldiers and three of the con-

stabulary, one of the latter with two of the former constituting a patrol. The huts in disturbed parts of the country were three or four miles apart, and two ambush patrols were out from each hut the greater part of every night. The work was extremely hard upon the men, but it was carried out without a murmur. During the long, wet, and cold winter nights they patiently did their duty throughout the year 1882. Many were the secrets overheard and the vagabonds seized upon by these silent watchers of the night. The farmers told me over and over again how thankful they felt when they heard the tread of the police or military patrol passing their doors, for many of them in these days never went to bed, fearing at any moment to hear the latch lifted by some armed and disguised ruffians in the pay of the "constitutional agitators." "Your honour," said one farmer to me, "why does not the Government put it all down? sure, there are as many loyal men

in the country as there are hairs in my head; but if we move a hand, we would be dragged out of our houses at night and shot by them chaps." This was but too true, and the confidence inspired by an elaborate and complete system of night-patrolling can be well imagined. It may be asked, if this unbearable terrorism existed, why the people did not combine and denounce the tyranny and throw off its yoke? The answer is, that the Land League had organised with an energy wanting on our side; the inner circles had been created during the last six months of 1881, and readily decreed and executed the sentence of death upon all waverers. Their power to enforce their will and the law of the League had been displayed, ours to protect had not been revealed. "Those who were not with the cause were against it," and those who were against it were doomed to be murdered in cold blood. The prayers of weeping women and children, on their knees to a room full of assassins,

pleading as if to their God for mercy, were but answered by the discharge of a gun, followed by the death-groan of one loved. Blood the Land League wanted, and blood it caused to flow, with a cruelty and savageness unsurpassed in history.

THE END.

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